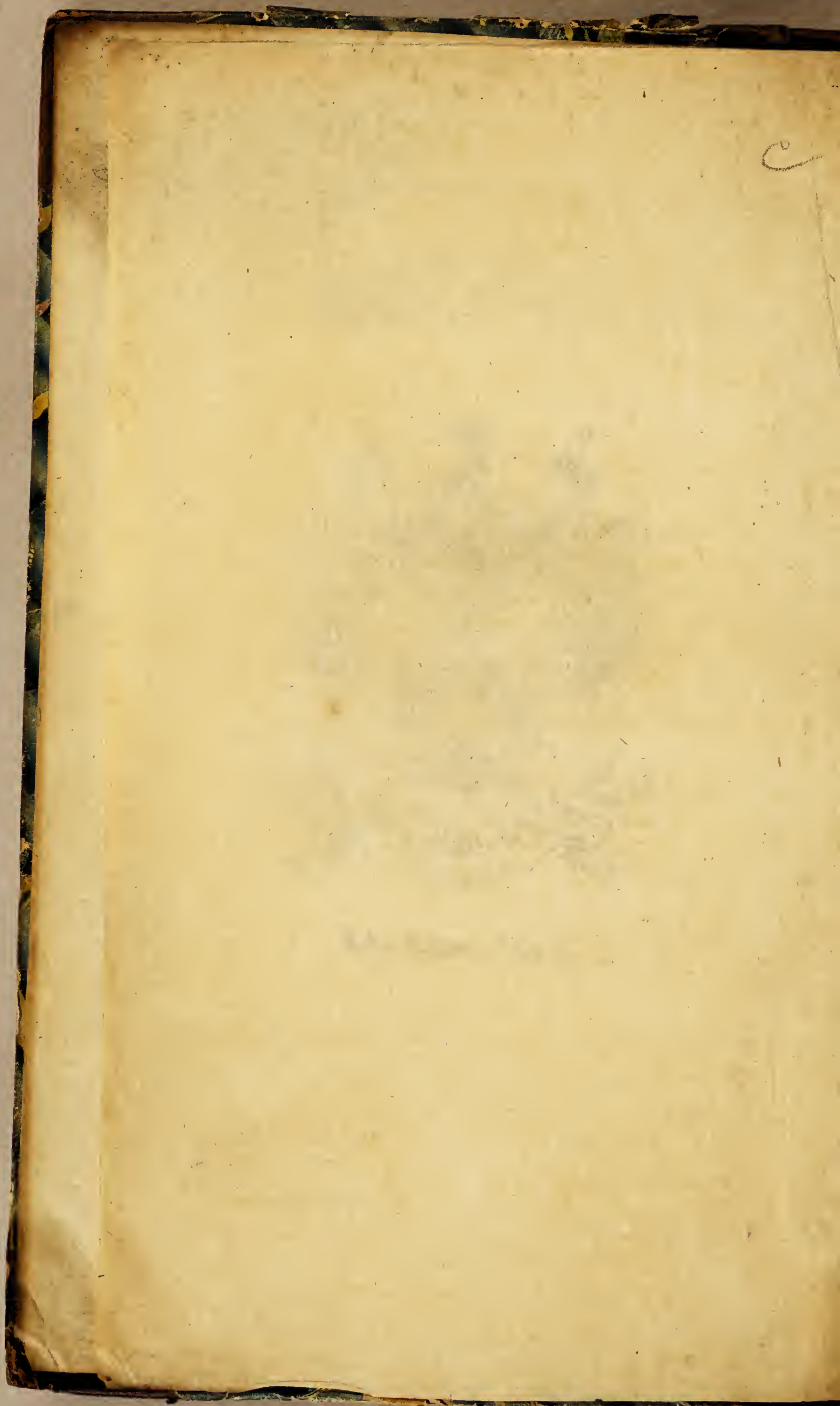




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John Carter Brown.



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THE HISTORY OF THE
PIOUS INDIAN CONVERT;

OR, THE

New Pilgrim's Progress.

CONTAINING

A faithful Account of HATTAIN GELASHMIN, a *Heathen*, who was Baptiz'd into the *Christian Faith* by the Name of GEORGE JAMES, and by that means brought from the Darknefs of *Paganism*, to the Light of the *Gospel*, of which he afterwards became an able and worthy *Minister*.

TOGETHER WITH

A *Narrative* of his Laborious and Dangerous TRAVELS among the Savage *Indians* for their Conversion; his many Sufferings and Miraculous Deliverances, and the Wonderful Things which he saw in a *Vision*.

Publish'd for the Instruction of Mankind in general, but more particularly for the Impenitent and Unreformed.

By JAMES WALCOT, A. M.

He that hath Ears to hear let him hear.

BLACKBURN:

PRINTED BY J. WATERWORTH.

MDCCXCII.

THE HISTORY OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

FROM ITS FIRST INSTITUTION

TO THE PRESENT TIME

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE FIRST

OF THE HISTORY OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

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IN TWO VOLUMES

THE SECOND

OF THE HISTORY OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

FROM ITS FIRST INSTITUTION

AN

INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE.

THOUGH the mercies of God have for all ages been evident to his people, and that they spread universally over all generations, names and nations of mankind, so evidently, that the most wilfully blind must see, and the most obstinate confess them: Though we have the wonders of the Almighty Power laid down to us in the Sacred Scriptures, in which his glorious and paternal visitations for the Conversion and Edification of his people are painted in the strongest and most lively colours, all proving to us, that *he is gracious, and that his Mercy endureth for ever*; yet it is far from unnecessary to record and publish to the world his fatherly workings and dealings with the sons of the present generation; inasmuch as it may raise up in them desires and resolutions of endeavouring to arrive at a portion of that grace wherewith others have been endow'd, to the benefit of their own souls, and the information of their less edified brethren.

Though precept acts with strength and vigour upon some minds, and has all the effects intended by it, yet it is very certain, that example is generally more prevalent; for the senses in general are here affected, and with a kind of rapidity hasten first to examine into the real worth of the matter proposed for imitation,

imitation, and upon conviction of its worth, immediately resolve to imitate. It is for this reason, that in holy writ we have distinct and descriptive accounts of all those sacred truths which are intended for the enlarging of our minds, the reformation of our lives, and the improvement of our notions religious and moral. If *Moses* had only said, that *in the beginning God created the Heavens and Earth*, we must certainly believe the Creation, because we plainly see about us the luminaries, firmament, sea and earth which he describes; but with how much more reverential pleasure and delight do we by his history go through the works of the creation separately and discriminately, and, as it were, accompany the Divine Majesty through the six days of his works, from the *let there be light*, to the Creation of our general father *Adam*, whose innocence and Paradise *Moses* paints to admiration, and whose fall he teaches the most harden'd heart to bemoan.

If the sufferings, and patience of *Job* under them, were but barely express'd; as that *Job* lived at a certain period of time, had many of the heaviest troubles and afflictions, and bore them patiently, to the great glory of God, the story might catch our belief, but could have little share in our compassion; on the other hand, when we read how the good man is one day plunder'd by robbers, the next, his herds and flocks struck and destroyed by lightening from Heaven, his children buried in the ruins of their banquetting-house, himself from the highest affluence reduced to
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the lowest poverty, sitting on a dunghill, cover'd with sores, forsaken of his friends, except such as came to revile him, who is he that reads unmoved so much undeserv'd calamity, a train of miseries known to no mortal but himself; but still the heart is more strongly touch'd by his patience and resignation under such an accumulation of woes, and finds itself by degrees, as it were, arm'd and prepar'd, by his example, to resign to the decrees of heaven, without fullen grief and unchristian repinings. When our blessed Saviour would inculcate any principle or precept with more vehemence and earnestness, he had recourse to parables, not short and maim'd, but full and open, strongly describing in the persons of the parable the intention of his discourse. In most of them there are not the smallest circumstances pass'd over, and these small circumstances have their particular use and beauty. When the rich glutton is painted in the character of *Dives*, his purple and fine linen is not forgotten; and is the kindness of the dogs to *Lazarus*, in licking his sores, not mention'd with a particular emphasis? Here the luxurious brutality of the great man is describ'd with fervour, for he is cast even beneath the dogs in principle of tenderness, for, him, he refused to relieve with the scraps that fell from his table, the dogs treat with more good nature, for all they can, they do, they come and lick his sores, perhaps having a secret instinctive knowledge of the medicinal quality of their tongues.

With

With what a compassionate contempt do we view the rich Miser in the Parable, preparing to build new barns and Granaries for his over abounding Harvest, proposing to himself Years of plenty and pleasure, 'till he is thunderstruck with, *Thou fool, this night shall thy soul be demanded of thee.* The whole frame of nature is shock'd here, not only at the terror but the suddenness of the sentence, and even the reader feels a shock, like that of *Belshazzar*, at the hand writing, the *mene tekel* on the wall.

I have instanced the use and necessity of being full, and often circumstantial in writings of this nature, because I have laid it down as a rule to myself not to pass over the smallest particular which may conduce to the clearing and strengthening the surprizing relations contain'd in the following sheets, and, as they are all plain and sincere truths, they will insinuate themselves to the good opinion of the readers, without the assistance of any studied arguments, the whole being supported by simple facts, deliver'd to mankind for no other end but their improvement in this world, and their happiness in a future state.

I shall endeavour, with the utmost simplicity, free from all unprofitable ornaments, to deliver to the reader the history of *Hattain Gelashmin*, who is the subject of this book, and shew that the Almighty often chuses the most unlikely of his Creation to be the happy messengers of his salvation, and the proclaimers of the triumphant sounds used to the shepherds at the birth of the Messiah, of *glory be to*

to God on high, and on earth peace, and goodwill to men. He will be a convincing instance, that all the sacred treasures of the gospel are not reserved only for the wise and learned, but that even out of the mouths of babes and sucklings he brings forth praise. I would not here be understood to despise human learning, far from it, I look upon it, properly used, to be of the greatest emolument and convenience to a well-disposed mind, and a guide, if faithfully follow'd, without pride and self-conceit, which greatly contributes to the enlivening and supporting christianity; tho' alas! we have had, and still have examples of such, who have turn'd that blessing to their own destruction, and who to please *itching ears*, and raise themselves up high in the opinion of some weaker than themselves, have through the dint of study first learn'd to doubt, next to fall into the most pernicious errors, and then propagate these errors, to the destruction of their own and their foolish proselytes immortal essence: But I trust that the converting grace of God will one time stay this ruinous torrent of affected infidelity, and rescue from its black and suffocating waters, both the leaders and followers of all condemnable notions.

My poor Heathen first, and afterwards a strong and useful speaker of the truth, may be an example to all mankind how much a soul, truly touch'd with the love of truth, and an earnest enquiry into it, may penetrate into the most valuable mysteries of Christianity, and convince many of those gone astray by
their

their own foolish inventions, that their searchings into the holy text is not sincere, and that rather the love of novelty and worldly approbation and praise sets them upon Scrutinies of the principles of religion, whence, tho' therein is contain'd the most refreshing sweets, most healing and restorative balms, they return, like the spider from the rose, overcharged with poisons, instead of bearing thence wholesome refreshments, and comfortable and fragrant essences.

Before I conclude this short Preface, I must inform the Reader, that I had never any design of publishing these sheets if it were not put out of my power to do otherwise, by a friend of worth and piety, who thinking they might be of use, if not to the higher and more learned, yet to the more simple and better meaning part of mankind, and having gotten into his possession the greater part of the copy, had determin'd to publish it as it stood, imperfect, if I persisted in a resolution of concealing the whole. This apology I do not make, as, I fear, it often is made, to screen the vanity of a man who would be thought too modest to publish his writings: It is a plain truth, and I hope it will be received as such.

Take it, therefore, reader, candidly, as I impart it, and I heartly pray it may have the end I propose in it, which is the promotion of a godly and sober conduct in this world, such as may bring thee to unspeakable joys in the world to come. This is the hearty wish and prayer of

Your Friend, and Fellow Christian, has

JAMES WALCOT.

THE HISTORY OF THE
PIOUS INDIAN CONVERT;

OR, THE

New Pilgrim's Progress.

CHAP. I.

A short account of the Author, the reason of his travelling, with a relation of some accidents that befell him in his travels.

IT were needless as well as impertinent to say any thing on the subject of my Birth and Parentage, let it suffice, to tell you, that my father was a man of a small paternal estate, with which he farm'd about three hundred pounds a year. At the time of my being first at the Font, he solemnly dedicated me to the Ministry, as I was by him informed when I was a school-boy. His offering was pleasing to me, having, from the time I was able first to think, turn'd all my inclinations towards the Gown. After the course of a Grammar-School, I was initiated in *Oxford*; about which time a learned and pious Divine made some proposals for the founding of a College in the *Bermuda Islands*, his intentions being spread abroad, and
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coming to my ears, it begot in me a new inclination I never felt before, I raised up to myself the most pleasing thoughts of bringing the poor *Indians* into the christian faith, and longed for the happiness of being joined with some of the Missionaries for that glorious and laudable end.

I often reflected how melancholy a thing it was that so many thousands were in darkness, merely for want of proper pastors, and how exalted must be the function that was to gather into the paths of salvation those who went on in their idolatries, only for want of instruction. This thought, which, in so young a person, might appear to be no more than a sudden whim, got ground on me every day, and, by reflecting constantly on it, sunk deeper and deeper into me ; in short nothing but obedience to the best of fathers, whose only son I was, prevented me from going away privately, and I could not bear the thought of shocking his quiet by asking his consent.

But Heaven soon freed me from this obligation, for by the time I had resided in the University 'till the beginning of my eighth year, and taken the degrees allowed for that standing, I was alarm'd with the dreadful account of his death. Upon this I was oblig'd to quit the gown, and hasten home ; where besides the grief for my dear good father's death, which was sudden, I had the mortification to find his affairs in a most perplexed and confused way, owing to frequent private good offices he had done for my sister's husband. With much difficulty and expence I at last had matters regulated

gulated, and being at liberty to live after my own manner, I took pains to recover some time which I had mispent at *Oxford*. And now the thoughts of travel returned upon me with uncommon violence, insomuch that I spoke publickly of my intentions, and had the pleasure of hearing myself often call'd a fool and a madman for them. Some gentlemen in the neighbourhood, who wish'd me well, propos'd to me going into orders, and taking a Curacy, apprehending that would restrain my desires; accordingly, as I look'd upon orders as a main qualification to promote my wishes, I was nominated to Curacy, and in a short time ordained both Deacon and Priest, but not the same day.

My Curacy took up my attention for some time, but, alas! the thoughts of travel grew still stronger on me, insomuch that my Rector frequently check'd me upon that head, with a bitterness not becoming his gown. To be short, I grew so disgustful to him, he looking on me as an enthusiastick young fool, to use his own expression, at last he told me, (not being registered) that I might provide for myself elsewhere, for he would have no further commerce with such mates.

I retir'd to my own house, and became boarder to the Tenant I had fixed in it at my undertaking the Curacy. I wanted no leisure nor retirement, for no creature came near me, being thought by all the country a Schismatick or in the more tender sense a Lunatick, thro' the insinuations of my late worthy Rector.— Solitude fed my passion for going abroad, and

I had within myself concerted methods to that purpose, and laid down measures for the disposing of my estate and effects, to carry the purchase with me, but I was at a loss for a Counsellor in the case, with which, however, I was quickly furnish'd in this manner.

Captain *Thomas Bird*, who had been my school-fellow and very intimate acquaintance, had now a new ship of his own, call'd the *Morning Star*, of about 450 tons, and in good order, who coming into the country, and among other news hearing of my supposed madness paid me a visit, and perceiving, after some hours conversation, that I was in my right senses, apply'd himself to me thus. My friend, said he, *I find you are absolutely determin'd upon visiting the Indies, if it be so, and you will favour me with your company, I'll land you in Jamaica, and your passage and all other accommodations shall not cost you a farthing; therefore so order your affairs, as to be ready by the end of April, (this was the beginning of March) and I'll soon save your longing of preaching to Heathens.*

The offer gave me perfect transport, I embrac'd it, and in a fews days I manag'd so well that I dispos'd of, to good advantage, my estate real and personal, and found myself worth 1800l. I must not here forget the prudent tenderness of my brother-in-law and sister, who push'd me closely, since I was resolved to go, not to venture myself and fortune in the same bottom; but I reply'd with coldness, for they were industrious spreaders of my madness, that if *I sunk it was my resolution my effects should*

should sink with me. I then apply'd myself to get proper credentials of the regularity of my ordination, the conduct of my life, and the very true causes of my going abroad; which I effected to my satisfaction, and having made such preparations as I thought necessary and sent them to *London*, and pass'd the formality of farewells, I had no time to spare, for my friend, the Captain, call'd upon me, and we immediately set out for *London*, his ship at that time lying in the river.

Here I improved my little library, and bought several Mathematical Instruments: I here also got fresh credentials and recommendations from a worthy prelate in that Metropolis, and in a few days set sail for *America*.

I shall give no description of the voyage, only that I saw, as the holy Psalmist expresses it, the various wonders of the Lord in the deep, and after a most pleasing passage of seven weeks we arrived safely at *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, and the next day I went to *Kingston*, where, upon my recommendations, I was most kindly welcom'd and entertain'd, and was lodged at the house of one of the first Assembly-Men, by his own desire, and was by him intreated to supervise the education of two sons, who were in the hands of a young man lately arriv'd from *England*. I lik'd the task, and undertook it with pleasure.

By this time my friend, Captain *Bird*, was to sail, who, when he came to bid me adieu, took a small walk, and told me to this purpose, *I cannot think, says the Captain, that this island will be long agreeable to you; but use your patience,*

tience, I have something in my head for you ; I am going but a short trading trip round the islands ; I shall soon be back, and at that time you will be able to determine, and I to further my design for your ease and happiness. He went, and it was full six months before he returned, the most tedious time I ever spent ; for though my very friendly host, Mr. *E—ll—n*, was kind to me to an extremity, yet his sons and their Tutor were my constant plague. The boys were stubborn and perverse, and made more so by the mistaken fondness of their mother, so that if the youth who was to instruct them, had been able to teach them any thing, it was ten to one whether they would be pleas'd to learn ; but he was near as ignorant as the boys themselves, and hated and fear'd me, so that sometimes closely examining the three, I contracted so much of their aversion, that they soon so represented me to Mr. *E—ll—n's* lady, that there was no longer any comfort in living there ; whereupon, with all gratitude and good manners I desir'd my host's leave to depart to lodgings, which he, for quietness sake, with some little reluctance, comply'd with, and recommended me to a rich planter, who had a very handsome and commodious house in the *Green Walk*, where I lived very much at ease till a strange accident overturn'd all here again.

I was invited by some of the most considerable people to an entertainment, and after dinner, when discourse became general, I apply'd myself to one of the heads of the company, and observ'd to him how inhumane a trade that of the slaves was ; that they had an equal right to

to liberty with any White upon earth; but still I observed, that their misfortunes might be turn'd into a vast benefit, if they were instructed by some Divines in the Christian Religion, and then christened; and how ready I should be to undertake the task. Every countenance lowered on a sudden, a general silence ensued, till a gentleman of the Law only, replied, with an half smile, *when you have been longer here you will know better how to talk upon this topick.* The company in a moment broke up, and I returned home, where I met my landlord, who was one of the first that went away: He told me with a frown, that it was well I had Mr. E—ll—n's friendship, or I should be taught other doctrine; that I was enough to raise a rebellion in the island; that I was welcome to his house while I staid, which, says he, *I am sure won't be long*; and so, with a surly salute, left me. Now I in earnest longed for my Captain; I was in a desert, for no body would converse with so dangerous a fellow.

In this condition did I live for some months; but in that time had not learned caution enough to prevent the encreasing of their contempt and aversion to me; I acted purely on the Dictates of simplicity, and thought that could not offend any body, which I did not intend as an offence. There is nothing more difficult than to look nicely into mankind without being deceived; for a man must be a judge of their various interests, private views and public policies, or he is deceived himself, and by a mistaken good intention may raise an whole community about his ears, who, from
his

his mistake, may look upon and treat him as a public enemy.

This was exactly my case, and in a little time I gave these gentlemen, what they thought a very substantial cause of being sufficiently angry with me. One *Sunday*, after dinner, I rode out for the air towards *Blue-fields*; for, through vexation, my health was but indifferent; in the way I met a crowd of Black Slaves profaning the Sabbath, by a sort of game they played at with large round stones; I was struck to the soul to see such impiety and ignorance, though, alas! I have seen christians do the same; and knowing that most of the Negroes, except the new comers, speak and understand *English* tolerably well, I began to reprove them for employing a day ordained for worship and rest, in a manner which might raise up the Almighty's rage against them, which might strike them dead in the midst of their sin and folly. I told them, that though black, they had as good a right to hope for salvation, if they would endeavour to merit it, as any White man alive; and then I proceeded to explain to them the nature of the Sabbath, and told them, if they would gather every *Sunday* in that place, I would come and instruct them. They seemed all attentive and silent, till an old Slave said, Sir, *don't you think we have as good a right to liberty as the Whites, and that they can as little justify keeping us in bondage, as we them?* Hurry'd away by my private sentiments, I answered with some vehemence, *Yes, without all manner of doubt, the laws of God and nature declare it, and it is*
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Tyranny in man to dare to act against them. This period of my discourse, I observed, was the most pleasing to them; whereupon alighting from my horse, I kneeled down and they round, and prayed, that God would enlighten them, and if it were his gracious will, that I might be the willing, but unworthy instrument of the Conversion. I then begged, that since he had permitted slavery to be their portion, that he would give them in exchange for liberty the infinitely more precious jewel, christianity. I concluded with a general blessing, and left them, as I thought, very much delighted with what had happened; for my own part, I don't know that ever I felt so much sincere pleasure as during the rest of my airing, and my return, upon reflecting on the happiness it must be to call even one soul to repentance.

This thought most agreeably entertained me the whole night, and the next day I began to form a scheme by which I should act in the great point of their instruction, and next I planned out a discourse by the way of opening their knowledge of christianity. This business engrossed me entirely till *Wednesday*, and it cost me no small pains and study to bring my thoughts and expressions to the level of their understanding. After the violent heat of the day was over, I was informed that a packet-boat was arrived from *England*, and being curious to know what was doing in *Europe*, particularly in my dear native country, I dressed, and went to one of the most noted of their coffee-houses, or rather punch-

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houses,

houses, for little of any other liquor is sold in them. I had no sooner come into the great room, when, from a table at the upper end, where was seated a knot of young gay sparks, among whom was the Lawyer I spoke of before, I heard a voice say, *Here comes the Parson, he shall be a Judge of this Controversy.* Observing no other Clergyman in the room, I concluded I was the person meant; whereupon I answered, *Gentlemen, you do me honour, more than I deserve, in making me an Umpire, and I shall endeavour, to the best of my knowledge, to decide the question honestly.* Well then, Sir, said the Lawyer, *we have, amongst other Pamphlets from England, received one that endeavours to confute Woolston on the miracles.* And doubtless, replied I, *The Author does confute that weak wicked man, or he must be as weak as that blasphemer himself.* Why, Sir, Says the Lawyer, with a rude sneer, in which he was joined by the whole company, *Do you think you are able to support the truth of the miracles? Surely I am,* answered I, *Or I was unworthy of being initiated into the sacred function which I profess and exercise.* O ho, then, continued the wit, *You believe the miracles? Believe them,* Said I, with some heat, *Yes, and I hope you do also, or you are a very unfit member for a Christian Congregation. Consult Moses and the Prophets, see in them the promises of a Messiah, and from thence judge of his power.* Here there was a general laugh, and the speaker of this worthy Assembly, cried out laughing violently, *Ay, ay, this is one of the Tribe of Moses, he was the first Arch-Cheat, and the worthy Train of his successors, our sacred Lawgivers,*

Lawgivers, continue his policy to this day. But let me tell you, Parson, if you believe Moses and the rest of the Tribe, you do more than half the Bench of Bishops do. I now was quite provoked, and replied, I am surprized at your extravagant impudence, that you should attack a body of good and learned men without the dread of Scandalum Magnatum, which may reach you even in America; but you are a trifling wretch, and I believe as bad a Lawyer as a Christian; for, let me tell you, the laws by Statute are grounded upon the laws of Nature, and Nations, and those have their rise from the laws delivered by that inspired Moses, whom you have the impudence to despise. Hark ye, Sirrah, Priest, do you attack my knowledge of the laws, says my Lawyer, were you never pulled by the nose or kicked out of doors for your pertness; but the Black Petticoats you wear are your protection, for 'tis as scandalous to kick a Priest as a Woman. Nothing, cried I, shall be called or claimed by me as a protection; I fear you not, and take you care how you injure me; if I should fall by your hands, I die in the cause of Heaven, if you should perish, 'tis because the sword of the Lord and Gideon is upon you.

At this instant, when it was uncertain what the end of this conversation would be, both of us being very much out of temper, my friend, Mr. E—ll—n, who sat at a table near us, tho' unobserved by me, came up, and said, Gentlemen, you carry matters too far, and give me leave to tell you, such discourses are very unfit for a public place. For your part, Mr. Rockly, for that was the Lawyer's name, you affronted Mr. Walcot much, in calling into question those

truths which he holds sacred, as I hope every good man does, and attacking the characters of a body of the principal Divines from whom he draws his Ordination, whom you must, by your expression, conclude to be the most gross and rankest of hypocrites; and indeed I am no more surpris'd at his resentment than I am amazed at your unmannerly method, and concerted way of endeavouring to render him ridiculous; for I observed, the moment he came in, by your whispers and gesture, that you resolved to abuse him; and I could wish, for the honour of the Colony, such things were less used amongst us. They made no reply, for his influence was too great for their power. And then turning to me, come, Sir, I want to speak with you; and so we walked off and left the wit and his gang, who were, I observed greatly abashed and confused. When we had gone out of the house, says my friend, if I had not met you here I was going to your lodgings; my wife desires to see you, to let you know she is sorry she was impos'd upon by two boys and their silly Tutor, for upon a quarrel between them, my eldest boy, Tom, has told her the whole contrivance: Come, no blushes, or apology, you must come. I returned no answer, but walked on.

I am glad, says Mr. *E—ll—n*, I happened to be so conveniently near you, I could wish you never had fell into such company, but as you did unwittingly, you acted the part of an honest man and a good Christian. That pert silly fellow, *Rockly*, is one of those, who having been good for very little about the inns, came over to *America* to be good for less: He's a
man

man of a most reprobate character; but as he came so strongly recommended, and that to the chief men of the colony, we behave civilly to him in compliment to his friends; but I wish he had never set foot in *Jamaica*, for he has done unknown mischief amongst our youth, who, alas! were bad enough without him. By his hellish principles, he has utterly debauched their minds, and has with them weekly meetings, where he harrangues upon deistical, nay, I am told, atheistical notions; so that he has made his Pupils Devils in practice, if they have not wicked wit enough to be so in Theory.

This, Sir, *said I*, is direct treason against Heaven. Suppose any man should deny the right of our earthly King to reign, trample on his laws, insult his Ministers, and foment rebellion against him by their wicked adherents, should not such suffer the law? And yet the King of Kings to be treated with less decency than they dare one on another, and that too unpunished, it is monstrous! At this moment we were got to the door, and our discourse ended.

We found the Lady of the house in the parlour, who, after the usual formalities, began to make me many apologies for what had happened, and which I heard with more pain than pleasure, and she had extended them to a greater length, if my friend, observing my uneasiness, had not cut her short, by saying, "My dear, you know Mr. *Walcot's* plain temper and behaviour, therefore you may conclude, that set speeches are not very agreeable to

to him, I am well convinced he is thoroughly satisfied, and if disposed, or that there was a necessity for it, he could say for you ten times more upon the subject, and more pertinently too. I met him at the coffee-house, but by an accident which happened there we missed of our sober repast of coffee or tea, therefore order both, and I, at the time of our sitting to the tea-table will tell you what will give you a good deal of surprize, and perhaps some indignation. It is the work of your friend *Rockly*, and you may suppose then it is some affair worthy of that gentleman."

Tea being ready, Mr. *E—ll—n*, in the little interims of sipping, told the whole affair with a good deal more Life and Smartness than I have described it; I expected every now and then that she would have burst into a laugh at the figure she must suppose, I made in a quarrel; but on the contrary, looking graver than usual, Mr. *E—ll—n*, says she, "Is it not a most deplorable case, that such a fellow is suffered to live, even where there is but the smallest appearance of Christianity! I tremble for my boys, lest they should be corrupted by some of his wicked Disciples: The Man is a Pestilence to the island. The assembly, and other courts, are severe enough upon any person that shall be found to be a public or private enemy to the colony; and, I think, this wretched creature is the most dangerous of all enemies; for by perverting the minds of the people, they distinguish no longer between Right and Wrong, which must, at last, necessarily bring the whole state into confusion,

I'll tell you, Mr. *Walcot*, continued she, when this Miscreant first came hither, Mr. *E—ll—n*, amongst the rest of the principal men, invited him to his house, and dinner was no sooner over, by which time he had swallowed at least a bottle of Madeira Wine, when, head and shoulders, he introduced a discourse, proving by it, that Vice and Virtue were only sounds, and had no real being or meaning; that all actions were indifferent in themselves; and that our sole business in life was to indulge every one of our appetites. My two girls, who were not gone then to *England* to the boarding-school, heard him thus far, and then, with great prudence, and no ceremony, retired from the wicked harrangue; I soon followed, and in a little time I sent for Mr. *E—ll—n*, who, by my entreaty, left him half an hour by himself, and then sent a careless apology by a servant, that he could wait on him no longer, for he was called out upon business, and the Ladies were gone to take an airing; he sat some minutes, and then, for he could not be so dull as not to feel the affront and know the cause of it, walked off, and we have never been troubled with him since."

While the Lady was speaking, a footman came in to let his master know that one Mr. *Nixon*, an eminent planter, desired to speak with him; the Gentleman immediately went to receive him, and left the Lady and me together. After a little silence, which I have observed is very common upon the Departure of a member of a company; "Madam,
says

says I, I am surpriz'd that the *Clergy* here do not take some measures to destroy this growing Evil, which must deface the morals and destroy the souls of the misguided people. It is their duty without dispensation, and I look upon them as accomplices with such profane wretches, if they in silence connive at such damnable principles." "Alas! Mr. *Walcot*, (*replied the Lady*) I see you are much a stranger to our part of the world, and indeed your innocence and little knowledge of the actions of mankind too often puts you into their power. I am sorry to say it, but it is too true that most of our *Clergy* come to us either thro' *Misfortune*, *Misconduct*, or *Necessity*, that is, *Poverty*. I know it for a certainty, that when some young men have led a very idle life, not to call it worse, in the *University*, and that all hopes of preferment in *England* is lost, then they make interest to be ordained for the *American Colonies*, and so come over, as it were, *transported Ministers*. Many of the unfortunate, burdened with heavy families, have here a retreat from their clamorous creditors, and some of the profligate might bury the memory of their vices here, if they did not, by repeating them, still remind us of their vicious conduct. These last give themselves little, or indeed no trouble about the conduct of their flock; they herd with the gay, and sometime with the vicious, and then with what face can they pretend to reprove the frailties they themselves are plunged in, perhaps, as deeply as any of those they should instruct and reprove. They whom poverty drives hither dare not
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attack the vices of their superiors in wealth ; because they are in constant hopes of favors from them, and this is the true state of the case. Now on the other hand, were men to come hither as you have done, merely from inclination, and, like you, men of fortune, they might hope for some authority to chastise vice ; but poverty stops the best disposed mouth."

I was going to reply, when my friend and the stranger, Mr. *Nixon*, entered the room. Mr. *Ellen* burst out suddenly thus, " Good God ! my Dear, is it not a sad case, that a man of sense and good principles should, through inadvertency, be constantly exposing himself to danger, and putting it into the power of his many causeless enemies to find methods of plaguing and distressing him : Upon my life, Mr. *Walcot*, I am at a loss how to act in this affair ; I don't know how far, or how long I can warrant your safety ; you have now enabled the Lawyer to be revenged of you to the full glut of his malice."

" Sir, *replied I*, if that is all, be under no concern for me, I value not the man, or all the bad men that associate with him, I warrant him I am a man enough for him at fair play ; I never loved quarrels, but I was never found to be a coward. Heaven permits me not only to defend the life it gave me, but to offend any who shall attempt it."—Lord Sir, *says Mr. Ellen*, I don't doubt your courage, I wish the Lawyer's affair was all—but you have done what—I don't care to speak." Sir, *said I*, in some heat, I challenge all mankind to tax
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me with a base action, I scorn them and their actors; this is some base calumny, some made tale to turn your heart against me—Tell me my crime.” Mr. *Nixon*, do you speak, *says* Mr. *Ellen*, you are best able to relate it; it gives me pain to think so good a man should be so much mistaken.”

Mrs. *Ellen* and I all this while stared at one another by turns, she with surprize and wonder, and I with the utmost confusion; at last Mr. *Nixon* began, and addressed himself to me thus: “Sir, I have heard you preach twice, and was greatly delighted with you; I have observed your life to be innocent and pious, and therefore, be assured, I regard you so much, that it is painful to me to tell you what I must; but first, Sir, let me ask you one question. Pray did you converse with any black slaves last *Sunday* in your way towards *Blue Fields*?” “Yes truly, I did, *replied* I, and intend to meet them there the next *Sabbath*, please God, according to my promise.” “Indeed, Sir, *returned* Mr. *Nixon*, I would advise and intreat that you do not go thither the next Lord’s Day, for it will be dangerous.” I value no danger, *cryed* I, that may face me in the discharge of my duty.” You must not go, answered Mr. *Ellen*, a little angrily, except you intend that we bring with us a coffin to fetch you back to *Kingstown*. Your conscience is not to run you into eminent peril of your life. You spoke there to them on the cruelty of the whites, of keeping them in slavery, and the absolute right they had to liberty.” “I confess, Sir, *said* I, I did answer

answer a question proposed to me by an old slave, whose sense was pretty much to what you have said; but I did not advance the topic myself." "No matter for that, *replies my friend*, the worst use will be made of what you have said and done, and therefore I——

"Sir, *interrupted I*, I am the most unfortunate man in the world, who give so much uneasiness to my friends and umbrage to my enemies; I declare I never did any thing maliciously, for there is not that creature upon earth I would hurt. The confusion which I see this gives to you and your Lady, fills me with so much perplexity, that I am no longer fit for company, and must beg leave to retire to my lodging." "Indeed, Sir, but you shall not leave my house, *answered Mr. Ellen*, I am your host, you are a pledge left in my hands, and I am to return you safe to your friend, the Captain; therefore set your heart at ease, confinement here must be, for some time, your lot; but books and the harpsichord will take off the tediousness of it." "Ay, *says Mr. Nixon*, I would not advise you to return to the *Green Walk*, for you have not a friend in the whole house." "Mr. *Nixon*, *says Mr. Ellen*, I press you to supper, after which I shall be glad to hear what use the slaves have made of Mr. *Walcot's* rash expression."

Supper was served, but I was so torn by various conjectures, and had such a tempest within me, that eating was the least of my care; I was deliberating what terrible mischief so very innocent an action could produce; I could not conceive how I singly,

could be of such importance as to throw a whole island into distraction. I was observed, and urged to less pensive, but in vain, I was all hurry and expectation, and perfectly sickened to hear the shocking story. Supper being ended, which, at that time, I thought vastly tedious, Mr. *Ellen* filled a large glass of wine, and presenting it to me, said, *Here Parson, drink this to raise your spirits, for I perceive they are very flat, and Mr. Nixon will satisfy your curiosity.* I took it, for I don't know that ever I wanted wine more, and drank it off, and as soon as I took breath, I said, with much earnestness and disorder, *Pray begin now, good Mr. Nixon, I am all attention.*

“ Before, said he, I shall relate the particulars to you and the Lady, for Mr. *Ellen* has heard them before, I must let you, Sir, into some matters, which, though odd, and perhaps a little cruel in their nature, yet are absolutely necessary for your clearer information. First, Sir, you are to understand, that the slaves we buy from *Guinea* are in their nature the most subtle, revengeful, and untoward creatures in the universe ; all kindness is lost upon them, and it were a sort of madness to hope to bring any of them to fidelity or industry without such treatment, as I really dislike ; their tempers are not to be bent ; and though I have heard that some of them have proved faithful servants in *Europe*, which is because they are from among their own perfidious countrymen, yet here, amongst our thousands, I have known very few instances of any appearance of goodness, and those generally

nerally hated by their own tribe. We live with them in a kind of warfare, for we cannot be more upon the watch to keep them from Mischief, than they are for a proper occasion of rebelling and shaking off the yoke of the *English*." "I don't wonder at that, *said I*, for—" No interruptions, good Sir, I shall be concise, *replies Mr. Nixon*, Liberty they constantly languish after; for bring them here at only their tenth year, they retain ideas and notions of *Angola*, and their common conversation is about their return, though, perhaps, some have lived here forty years, not that, by their own confession, they lived better in their own country, but there they can idle, here they must work, and till urged to it by stripes, and often not a few, some of them are so sullen and slothful, that they will not work. These reasons, *Mr. Walcot*, make us keep the closer eye upon them. These reasons sometimes, nay, too often, force us for many prudential causes to exercise dreadful discipline upon them, and are obliged to keep them low, for fear their pampered Spirits should urge them to a rising, the least hint of liberty sets them mad, and then insurrections, without much caution, ensue. Upon this point, lies your mistake, which I am convinced arose not from any thing but an open tender heart; but I hope it will have no ill consequences. And now I address myself to the Lady as well as you," *And thus he went on*, "Last Monday morning, when my overseer went to call the slaves to work, at his near approach to their barracks he was surprized to see them all huddled

dled together in a ring, and my old slave Ralph, the fellow, Sir, that asked you that unlucky question, in the midst of them, talking with much vehemence, harranguing them in the *Guinea* tongue. He immediately ran amongst them with his instrument of correction, and striking all that came in his way, cried out, *How Villains, is this the way you do my master's business? And for you, Dog, chastising Ralph more unmercifully than the rest, what are you at, are you at some of your old tricks of raising a disturbance amongst the slaves; you will never be at quiet till you are burned alive, as you long since deserved to be, and should have been but for my master's goodness; and so* continued his correction till the old slave fell to the ground; who then cried out, "You white dog, who made you or your master our governors? We have the same right to liberty as you have; and I only wish to be two days ruler over the pale-faced villains of this island, that I might shew them I understand how to torture and punish as well as they. You robbed us of our liberty against all justice, you hypocrites, and this I and many more were told yesterday by one of your own priests." What priest, you villain, said the overseer, would converse with such dung as you? Why, replied the slave, *the best and honestest of your priests who came hither the other day from Europe, that lives at Kingstown.*" The overseer made no reply, but drove them to the fields with unusual severity, and having fixed two of his companions to watch them close, he returned to me just as I rose, with this account.

count. I was at first stunn'd, too well knowing the wicked dispositions of the blacks, and could not, for some time, conceive what clergyman it could be who should raise up such a notion in those wretches; I was well convinced that none of our own divines would give themselves any thing more than necessary trouble, and, sometimes, not even that. At last, Sir, you occurred to my thoughts, and, by the description *Ralph* gave of the Gentleman that spoke to them, whom I examined, that very day, I was well assured it was you. I confess I was sorry to find a man I valued, though I was not acquainted with him, guilty of so unhappy an error. All that I had left now was, to get a spy among them, to search into the depth of their designs, concluding all the mischief was confined to my own plantations, but I was deceived, Mr. *Dormer's* Negroes, and all the neighbouring settlement had got hold of the matter, and were as full of it as my slaves.

“ The Spy I employed was an old black woman I have kept in the house for many years, called *Hannah Robin*, having been the wife of one *Robin*, a slave of mine, who died: her whole business is to provide *Homine*, and such other provisions as we allow the slaves, and when it was carried to the fields, to see it equally divided amongst them. She is a great favourite amongst them, and therefore the fitter to sound them; and this day she told me, that in their cabals they are forming parties to fly to the *Blue Mountains*, there to search for some of their rebellious runaway brethren,

brethren, and when strong enough, to come down suddenly and massacre the Whites. Their General, *Ralph*, about an hour before I came hither, I secured in chains, and have ordered him proper correction and diet; for the rest I hope we shall be able to manage them, with a little care. I hoped, for your sake, Mr. *Walcot*, to have kept it a secret; but it is spread all over the plantations, and I expect, in a day or two, that it will be as publicly known here; but be assured, Sir, that I will do all that is in my power to serve and protect you. And this Madam, *said he, applying to Mrs. Ellen*, his a true and short history of this unlucky affair."

All the time that Mr. *Nixon* was speaking, my uneasiness was extremely great; but when he came to relate his fears of their rebelling, and falling upon the Whites, my heart sunk in me, my countenance dropped, and I could do nothing but fetch secret sighs. At length, when he had ended, I was just able to cry out, *Good God! is it possible! Am I the unhappy Creature, whose mistakes shall bring desolation upon a whole people?* And then my head hung down of itself, and the tears, without my permission, flowed from me in abundance: It was in vain to talk of comfort to me, I was struck to the very heart, unable to speak, and when spoken to could answer no other way than by sighs. In this condition I was put to bed, and was the same night seized with a fever, which heavily oppressed me for ten days, most of which time I was senseless.

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My being delirious was now, it seems, an happiness to me, because thereby I was not sensible of all my misery, for the very next day after I was taken ill, the whole matter was public in *Kingstown*, and I was fixed upon as the victim for my own and the Negroes crimes: in this case, my friend, the Lawyer, was very industrious to shew his respect for me; he first made as strong a party as he could to have me presented as a nuisance and pestilence to the island, and therefore would have me banished from it in the first ship that left the harbour, no matter whither bound; next he would have all goods and chattels, proved to be mine in the island, to be forfeited, to repair the trespass on the people I had injured by seducing and inciting their slaves to desertion and rebellion; and this he thought a very light and tender correction for so great and willful a crime as I was guilty of. In the last part of my punishment, I suppose he intended to claim not the smallest share in the division of my effects, for the good services he had done the public. It was well for me that I could understand nothing of this, for it would, in all probability, have so heightened my disorder as to carry me off; but all his and his accomplices endeavours were frustrated by the care and vigilance of Mr. *Ellen*, Mr. *Nixon*, and several other friends that they had raised up for me amongst the best and wisest of the inhabitants, so that, by the time I had recovered my senses, my matters were made easy, only it was then deemed proper by my well-wishers that

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my excursions abroad should be as few as possible, and these always made with company.

Though I had the best nurse in the world in good Mrs. *Ellen*, yet my disorder had struck me so to the quick, that it was full three months before I was able to walk into the garden by my self; but by that time I had recovered a robust state of constitution, and got a strong and good appetite, which I never had before since my arrival in *America*. And now I began to reduce my life into a regularity, which would be pleasing to myself, and I hoped useful to others: First, therefore I professed myself domestick Chaplain to Mr. *Ellen*, and tutor to his Sons; and thus the Lady of the House and I agreed that the Day should be spent; as they rise early to enjoy the cool of the morning. About Six all the family, male and female, met in a great dining-room, where I read the morning prayer and lessons to them, and, sometimes, as I found occasion, added a short exhortation, and every *Sunday* in the afternoon a regular sermon, because they seldom then went to church: after morning prayer we breakfasted, and then the young people retired to their study while my friend, his wife, and I spent the time in discourse upon some useful topic; and when that began to grow dull to us, the Lady and I, in our terms, entertained one another and my landlord on the Harpsichord. This done I visited the young gentlemen and their Tutor, and spent an hour with them; and I have the pleasure to say, that I had the good luck to bring the boys to a love of their learning, and qualified the Tu-
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tor to be able to teach them. Now I retired till dinner, after which I made a second retreat till the violent heat was over, and then spent an hour or two with my friend and his Lady, then paid my evening visit to the young gentlemen, soon after that read evening prayers to the whole family, supped, retired and studied for some time, and then went to rest. This method of life grew in some weeks so natural to the family, that they knew the use of the several periods of the day, and therefore acted as regularly as if they moved by watch-work.

In my retirement, or call it confinement if you please, I read over many of the *Greek* fathers of the Church, and with them *Thucydides*, and I was often relieved from the close air of the house, and the confined prospect of the gardens, by going out, at least thrice a week, with my good Host and Hostess in the Cool in their Coach, which having canvass shades, I was not seen, for they would not let them down till we got into the Downs, and by that means avoided all insults. This life insensibly grew so sweet and agreeable to me, that I often regretted the opinion the people had of me, and sometimes thought I could willingly spend my life here; but these thoughts were always checked by reflecting that I was not in my function, or performing that part of it for which I left my native country.

It was now above six months since Captain *Bird* went, and though at first I pined much after him, now I was grown more easy, meet-

ing such tendernefs and indulgence in this excellent family : at length he came, fooner than I expected, but not long before I wanted him, I was not to leave the ifland with too much tranquility, nor would my Lawyer part with me before he had the other ftroke at me.

One forenoon, which happened to be cool and cloudy, Mr. *Ellen* went out, and the day continuing free from the ufual heat, he ftaid out till dinner, a thing a little uncommon with him; at his return I happened to be with his Lady in the parlour, and heard him as foon as he came in ask one of the fervants if I was come down, and without waiting an answer comes into us. “ So, Parfon, *cries he*, what do you think is the matter with your friend the Lawyer ? ” “ Nothing, Sir, I hope, *said I*, ill has happened to him, for tho’ he ufed me ill, I forgive him and wifh him well. ” “ Ay, indeed ! *quoth he*, that’s more than he does by you, he has got fome dog’s trick in his head againft you, but what it is, Lord knows as yet, I think the devil has poffeffed the fellow ! What can it be, you was never out of my houfe but in my company and my wife’s, and feldom out of my fight; but *Nixon* has put *Tobin* his overfeer to dive into it, and he’s a match for him or I am deceived; my dear, there has been with *Rockly* upon this fubject *Talgate*, *Crofskill*, and *Nairn*, our three tranfported planters; if evidence is wanting I dare fay they can act to advantage, for the gentlemen are thorough-bred. We fhall have Mr. *Nixon* here as foon as he has got intelligence, to give us information.” Mr. *Nixon* came to-
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wards evening, and told us, that "his man, by pretending enmity to Mr. *Walcot*, and promising to swear he spirited up the slaves to rebellion, found what the scheme was, which is this. *Croft*, *Nairn*, and *Talgate* alledge, that by your means and instructions, advice and persuasion, their slaves have deserted them, and fled into the mountains to their great detriment, having thereby lost their crops of rice and sugar, to several hundred pounds value, therefore desire to be relieved by seizing your goods, and having them appraised and sold to make good the damage; and to prove that you are the sole author and promoter of all these disasters, they can, beside themselves, produce *Edward Tobin* to affirm the same on oath. But the merriest part of it is, that the Lawyer, out of pity to these poor injured men, undertakes this affair without fee or reward." "Oh ho! says Mr. *Ellen*, if this be all, it is but a poor contrivance, not worthy notice, the meanest pettifogger could have found out a better, with all reverence be it spoken to the worshipful counsellor. But harkee, now I think of it, as soon as it is dark, for fear of accidents, I will have every pennyworth of yours removed from the *Green Walk*, and let me see if the sage barrister, or the new-fangled gentry will please to take them from hence, I shall then, perhaps, talk to them in a stile they will not be greatly delighted with."

All things were ordered as my friend intended, and by twelve that night I had all my earthly treasure in the same house with me. A fortnight passed in the common method

thod of the family, at the end of which time, and in the beginning of the cool of the day, Mr. *Ellen* came up to my apartment himself, and said, "Come, Parson, away with your book and come down, there is one below you'll be glad to see; I won't tell you who it is, but come and see." I immediately guessed who it was, and therefore was the less surprized when I found it was my friend the Captain. After some mutual salutes of friendship, *says he*, "I have been two hours here before you were called, in which time the Gentleman and Lady have told me all your trials and perplexities; I am sure you could be very happy in this family; but as it is a life of confinement it cannot be long agreeable or healthful, therefore I am come to your release, and I hope I have done for you in *South Carolina* what will please you when you know it. But this plaguy fellow of a Lawyer, what ails him? I should be glad to talk to him. But, *Jemmy*, get yourself ready quickly, for I only stay to take in a lading of rum and rice, both which I have from this Gentleman, with whom now I would deal upon account of his kindness to you, if we had not been before old acquaintance; and so, *says he*, I have drank a draught of punch, and I'll away on board." "That must not be, *said Mr. Ellen*, you will not, in the time of lading, be able to spare one night, and therefore I insist upon this." And I, *cries Mrs. Ellen*, and I, Sir. "Well, well, *says he*, if it must be, it must be; I'll but step to give orders to my mate, and be with you presently."

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The Captain returned, and spent the night with us, and the most chearful and pleasant one it was that I had known for many months. He was, though a seaman, free from all their vices, particularly that of swearing, gay and airy in his familiar conversation, and a perfect judge of men and manners. He lay in my apartment, in which there were three bed chambers. In the morning we rose early, and conversed till the family were gathered to prayers, at which he was much delighted, and then, going down to breakfast, we found some of the chief traders, who were come to deal with the Captain for his *Carolina* cargo. They all breakfasted, every man according to his inclination, when, in the midst of the morning refreshment, came in, without ceremony, the Lawyer, *Rockly*, and three or four of his followers, and spoke thus to Mr. *Ellen*, "Sir, I hope your pardon, I am come to see attached all the goods of *James Walcot*, Clerk, to be found in your house or elsewhere, in reparation of a grievous trespass done to my clients." "Sir, said Mr. *Ellen*, you are an impertinent fellow, I have no goods of his. Do you know me, Sirrah, or my privilege as an assembly-man? Get out of my house." "By your leave, but he shall not, as yet, says the Captain, who had all the time eyed him, I know his face, he's an old acquaintance of mine." Yours, friend, cries the Lawyer, I keep no such company." "I beg your worship's pardon, cried the Captain, I was very near having the honour of conducting you to *Virginia*, when you lay under sentence

sentence of transportation for forgery ; I am sure I gave you a dram in the prison.”

“ Hold, Captain, *said Mr. Ellen*, have a care, the man’s a council at law, you certainly don’t know him.” Truly, Sir, but I do, *said the Captain*, Pray, good Sir, what is your name ?” The Lawyer was now quite dumb. One of the company answered *Rockly*, “ Now, Sir, *sneer’d the Captain*, to shew you your mistake, the Gentleman’s name is *Passer*, so called after his father, who kept a little tippling-house in a bye court in the Old Bailey, and, while his memory lasted, was a good affidavit man, and the Barrister at Law there, being half footman and half clerk to an attorney in Clifford’s Inn, he learned the dexterity of counterfeiting hands and seals, for which, if he had not had some friends of interest deeply concerned with him, he would have been at *Virginia* six years ago.” But, *cries one of the company*, he has a certificate of his call to the bar, and many letters of recommendation from people of the first rank.”

“ All forged, *replied my Captain*, I’ll lay five hundred to fifty, and I say done first. His call to the bar is indeed registered at the *Old Bailey*, and his acquaintance with those of the first rank, must be with thieves and pick-pockets of that greatness : Is it not so, honest *Passer* ? I advise you to get off as fast as you can, for as soon as I get to England, I will know of the benchers if they ever certified for you ; and, having found your recommenders names, I shall ask the same question, so that if you are to be found, you will, in

a little time, think yourself happier when *Dick Passer*, the *Newgate* Solicitor, than now as *Esquire Rockly*, Barrister at Law." He held down his head, and went away muttering something, while he was saluted with a loud laugh from the company, and I never saw him more.

Nothing occurred worth taking notice of, but that the ship was almost laden, and our time of departure drew on apace, which filled me with a mixture of pain and pleasure, and I believe my friends were as much concerned for my going, but it was now become a matter of necessity, and so unavoidable.

CHAP. II.

The Author's departure from Jamaica, his arrival and reception in South-Carolina, and his meeting with Hattain Gelashmin, afterwards the Pilgrim.

THE Captain had in seven days compleatly loaded his vessel, as well as discharged, and disposed of the remaining part of the cargo he imported: his loading was rum and rice, both excellent commodities at that time in *Carolina*. And here he made me a merchant, by putting on board for my use and account, both liquor and grain to the value of one hundred and forty pounds, of which I knew nothing till he called upon me to pay
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for my merchandise. All things were now ready for our departure, and the formality of bidding farewell was all that remained, which I performed, with some sorrow, at the house of my friend and patron, Mr. *Ellen*, where also I saw all my well-wishers, and took leave of them. The Captain had taken in with my goods, which were the last part of the cargo put on board, a large quantity of fresh provisions, both living and dead, with greens and roots, intending to indulge the men with them in the voyage, for the preservation of their health, for he was a man of great humanity and goodness. But when we came on board the ship we were surprized to find that Mr. *Ellen* had sent, for my use, more stores than were sufficient for two for an *European* voyage, fowls almost without number, six well-fed pigs, of about eight months old, half a hog-head of the finest old rum, several dozens of *Madeira* wine, sugar, limes, and sweetmeats in abundance; in short the present was so great and noble, that it gave me pain to accept it, but there was no remedy, the vessel lay out in the mouth of the harbour, and there was no returning it without delaying the voyage, and probably I should give great offence in the refusal of this token of his friendship.

We went on board on *Thursday* evening, and as soon as day broke on *Friday* morning, we set sail with a pleasant smart breeze, and before evening got out of what the sailors call foundings, but then the wind slackened on a sudden and we made but little way, but what we made was done with pleasure. That night,

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as the Captain and I sat at supper, I asked him how many people he had in the ship, he answered twelve men and two boys; for, says he, I always love to be well manned, though it is a little more expence, for the safety both of the men and the ship. Then, said I, I have a proposal to make to you, which will, I hope, contribute to the safety of all, and the success of the voyage, which is, that I desire I may act as Chaplain during our trip to Carolina; and I beg you'll speak to the men, to reconcile them to the spending of a little time each day in Devotion, which, you must allow, will be very conducive to their present and future welfare. The Captain replied, How do I rejoice to find your goodness exerting itself upon all occasions that offer; I had it in my head to propose it to you myself, before I came into my cabin; I dare answer for the men, that they will be perfectly pleased, and thankful, and I will inform them to-morrow that they have a Chaplain; they are a very sober set of men, and, I am convinced, will with joy embrace this happiness.

The Captain next morning called the whole crew upon deck, and told them what I designed; all but one man expressed much consent and satisfaction at my offer. At noon, when I accidentally came up and sat a little while under the awning, the cabin growing too hot, the mate, in the name of the rest of the men, gave me thanks for my great goodness, as he called it, to a parcel of men, who would, by their good behaviour, endeavour to deserve my kindness. I told the honest men, I looked upon it to be so much my duty, that there

were no thanks due to me for exercising the offices of my Function, and that I should think myself amply rewarded, if I found my endeavours had any visible good effect upon their lives and conversations. And indeed I had no reason to complain, for I never saw in any place a set of men more decent in their behaviour; there was not an oath or any blasphemous expression amongst them; their work was performed with chearfulness and ease, and a sort of brotherly love reigned amongst them; for they most willingly assisted each other in their duty, and seemed careful of the health and well-doing of each other.

The observation of these men's conduct, and willingness to be guided to what was right, led me into a reflection on the unhappy measures taken in large ships, or men of war, who are provided with a Chaplain, and whose business, one would think, would be, or should be, to regulate their lives by precept, preaching, and example, the crews of which are, as I have been informed, the most reprobate and profane of all those who use the sea. Whence this must proceed is, I think, a little too evident, which is the neglect of their spiritual guide and director; for either he is taken up with some other matter of less consequence to him, or thinks it beneath the dignity of a Gentleman to rebuke vice; but particularly he disdains to confer in private with a vicious common sailor, and he has too much good manners to reprove an officer, thinking he has sufficiently done his duty, if he reads prayers and preaches at the times appointed. I could wish
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that such Gentlemen would consider, that they and the whole ship's company eat and drink, and sleep in constant danger, the loss of a nail, the springing of a plank, or a poor inconsiderable fish choaking their pumps, brings them to, and often forces them into the jaws of death, from whom they receive a wild ocean for their grave, there to be lost and forgotten till the last trumpet shall call them and the tenants of the earth to final judgement.— Now, since these things may, and frequently do come to pass, what manner of men should they be particularly?

Before *Saturday* night the Carpenter, unknown to me or the Captain, had made a very handsome and convenient moving desk, with a seat behind it, which, on the *Sunday* morning he screwed, before the time of divine service, down to the quarter deck, and ordered the Awning in a very commodious manner, both for me and my Congregation. At ten the bell rung, and I habited myself canonically, with an Hood and Surplice, the Captain and Mate acted as my Clerks, and the service was performed and attended to with great reverence. Whilst the Mate raised the Psalm I prepared for the sermon, at which time I observed one of the men coming up the gang-way, who joined himself to the rest of the Congregation whilst my discourse lasted; but as soon as it was over, and that I was preparing to read the Offertory, he again retired, which, though I was engaged in the Holy Office, I could not help observing. After service the men retired to their births, or sat upon the decks in conversations.

versations, which I hope were good; when I had disrobed myself to my night-gown and a thin waistcoat, the Captain came into the cabin, and after some words, of course I told him what I had taken notice of during the time of service. Well, says he, I have invited the Mate to dine with us, and he has, I know, sharp eyes, it is very likely he observed it, and will point out the man. Dinner being over, the Mate, of his own accord, fell upon the subject, and said to the Captain, Sir, did you take notice of any thing odd in the behaviour of any of the men to day? No, replied he, I did not, but Mr. *Walcot* has; pray who was it that was so particular? Sir, said the Mate, it was *Erwine* the *Scotsman*, but he's a fellow a little odd in all his ways. Pray, Captain, said I, since you know the man send for him, that we may inquire into his reasons for so particular an action.—He was sent for and came, looking something dogged and dissatisfied. After he had paid his respects to the Captain, for he took no notice of me; *Erwine*, says he, what could be your reason for acting so strangely to day? Ay, said the Mate, why did you avoid prayers, and then come to the sermon? Why, says *Erwine*, speaking in very broad *Scotch*, it is not safe for me, in my conscience, to pray with those who pray by book and form; I expect the Pastor should speak by the spirit of God, and not the devices and ceremonies of man's invention.—But friend, said I, in the form of devotion we use all that is needful for confession, petition and thanksgiving is fully comprized, and we hope that it is the spirit of God that helps us
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to pronounce the confession of our sins. The petitions for those things we want, and the begging forgiveness for the things we fear, and a hearty thanksgiving for the many benefits we enjoy, and the mercies we feel, which we have neither sense enough to know how to ask for, nor the least merit to deserve, but the powerful, everlasting and universally-spreading grace of that great God whom we should worship in humility, without Rancour to those that don't worship in our way. Besides, brother Erwine, there is no such real differences in the Christian Religion, though under different Denominations, as you have been taught to imagine; for all distinctions first had their rise from differing modes or forms of Church Government, which has, alas! been too much owing to the Pride, Avarice, and Self-interest of particular men, who, for their own views, have led multitudes astray. Now, as you are a Scot, I presume you to be of the Kirk of Scotland; the great distinction between you and us then is merely ceremonial; you allow of no Bishops or superior Governors of the Church, we do; you will allow no formal dress for the performance of Divine Service, which we approve of; but take my word, all christians may, without danger, worship together, provided none of them are inclined to idolatrous worship; and, as St. Paul says, so will I. Some say, I am of Paul, some of Apollos, some of Cephas; but verily I say unto you, You are all of Christ so long as you do his works; and therefore, Pray, Mr. Erwine, let us have no dissention in our
small

small congregation, and let me intreat your attendance to Evening Prayers with the rest of your ship-mates.

The man was silent for some time; at last he said, I told you before, I was brought up in another way, in which I have been taught not to join in set forms of Prayer; besides I do not like the surplice, for we use no such thing, it is an abomination to us; I am now three and forty years old, and I will not change the way I have hitherto walked in; I like well enough to hear you preach, but I cannot pray with you in a surplice, for I never yet bowed the knee to Baal, and never will. And so, without staying to hear any reply, he went out of the cabin. I was heartily grieved for his obstinacy, but I found afterwards he was irretrievable, and we continued daily from that Sabbath-Day our holy exercise without him.

Most part of the week-days I spent in catechising and instructing the two poor boys, who were as ignorant as heathens, (for the Captain took them from the parish, apprentices) and as they knew little before they came to sea, they soon lost that little, and were quite lost to any christian knowledge; for as the Captain took them partly for charity and partly for conveniency, the learning their business in the ship took up all their and their instructor's attention, so that the great article and intention of life, which is but a state of probation, was taken no notice of. It pleased God, however, to bless my endeavours, for before the voyage was finished, which

which, for Want of Wind, was pretty tedious, I had taught them their catechism, and the first principles of the christian religion, and explained and opened both to them, as well as their capacities would admit of; but it was a most laborious task, for the boys were both slow of apprehension, and a little giddy, as most boys are, which doubled the work, and this gave me a taste of the difficulty that must attend the converting of heathens, when we find so much with those born in a christian country.

Though my praying and preaching was generally liked in the ship, yet it gave great offence and scandal to the bigotted *Scotchman* who, as the Mate informed me and the Captain, when he got himself disordered by rum, which was not seldom, and of which he had brought a quantity from *Jamaica*, ascribed the slowness of the voyage, and any other accident which happened in the vessel, to the practising the worship of the Pope and Antichrist in the ship; he called the surplice the devil's fark, and all the other decent ornaments the trumpery of the Scarlet Whore and the Seven-headed Beast, and was not seldom a little severe on my character: This had like to breed much bad blood in the ship, and it was as much as my influence could do to restrain some of the men from a religious quarrel, of all quarrels the most disgraceful to, and inconsistent with, the christian principles. I represented to the men that his weakness was rather to be pitied than resented, and that tho' he had often told them, with spleen, that he

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expected no good from any but his own countrymen, they should convince him by their brotherly conduct of his mistake, and as he affirmed he could expect no salvation out of Kirk, they should shew him, by a charitable behaviour, that their notions were more open and unconfined, which made them wish and hope eternal happiness to all christians. With much labour and trouble I at last gained my point of reconciling them perfectly to him, or at least I prevented any mischief that may arise from his misguided words.

We were now in the second week of our voyage, and had so little wind, that we had not half performed it, though it was, as I was told, generally ended in sixteen days; the ship proceeded so slowly, that the crew, as well as the Captain, had sufficient leisure on their hands, for the working of the ship took up but little trouble. This situation gave the Captain and me the opportunity of many hours conversation, and one day (the evening being cool and calm,) as we sat in the cabin, the Captain, smoking his pipe over a little punch, according to his usual custom, said, either through hurry or forgetfulness I have not told you what I have done for you in *Carolina*; but it is necessary you should know it, and therefore hear me.— There is a Gentleman, whose name is *Carter*, an *Englishman*, one of the most considerable planters and merchants in the whole colony, a man of great worth and honesty, and remarkable for his goodness: when I was this last trip there, in discourse over a little punch, I mentioned you to him, and spoke of you, Par-
son,

son, as in my soul I think you deserve ; I told him of your dislike to *Jamaica*, and that I fancied that you would come with me to *Carolina*: he seemed greatly rejoiced, and begged that I would bring you, and, in his name, offer you his house, and all the services that he could possibly do you ; for, says he, such a Gentleman will be so agreeable a companion, and such an help and refreshment to me in the times I am free from business, that I shall count him one of the greatest blessings that could be bestowed upon me in my retirement ; therefore, Captain, press him, and engage him to spend his time with a man that will seek all means to make every thing in this place agreeable and convenient to him. He is, I assure you, a very good and devout man, very cheerful and inoffensive ; and I am informed by some in *Carolina*, who pretend to judge of such things, that he is one of the best scholars and most accomplished man that ever has been in the colony : he is the most universally esteemed of any man there, considering that for some time there was no body so perfectly hated and envied, for no other reason, but that he met with uncommon good fortune. At his arrival in *Carolina* he was in but a mean sort of a way, but he came so well recommended from *England*, that he was received as Clerk and Steward by a Lady who was Heiress to the best plantation in the country ; she was sought by most of the young Gentlemen there, though she was what you may call an Old Maid, but she was no way taken with any of them ; however, by the time Mr. Carter was

in her service about nine months, she began to feel a great tenderness for him, which was discovered to him by a favourite Maid, and, in a few weeks after, they were married publicly in the Church at *Charles-Town*, whereby he quickly became a man of the first fortune, almost, upon the spot. This procured him many enemies and affronts, but he so prudently and patiently managed his actions, without resentment or malice, and constantly returning good for evil, from an innate principle of virtue, without art or design, that he soon converted all his ill-wishers, and they are now his friends and admirers: he has lost his wife, and therefore I conclude that he is the more desirous to have some agreeable companion to pass his time with.

Whilst the Captain was speaking, we heard something fall with weight upon the deck, and at the same instant a sudden outcry, upon which he and I immediately came up, and found the men standing round *Erwine*, the *Scotchman*, who lay groaning on the boards; we immediately came and searched him, and found he had broke the small bone of his right leg, beside a large contusion or bruise on the left shoulder. The Captain expressed the greatest concern imaginable. *Good God!* says he, *here is a poor creature must be lost for want of help.* But I put him in heart, by telling him I hoped to be able to relieve him; I knew very well, that if the limb was brought to its right form, and properly rolled up, that nature would do the rest; and I had, when a youth, been a strict observer, and often an attendant
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on a famous bone-setter in our country ; so I went to work, prepared splints, rollers, and a plaister made of some linament and whites of eggs, and, by the assistance of the men, reduced it to its form, and, put on my bandage, &c. pretty tidely : his shoulder next was bathed with old rum, and then setting the carpenter to work, he quickly finished a box or cradle for his leg, which being ready, he was conveniently lodged in a bed in the forepart of the ship ; I took care to see him put to bed, and directed him how to manage himself ; to which he made me no answer, but was so far from giving me thanks, that by his Creed he believed, as he told one of the men, that the *Jonah* of the ship, meaning me, would be the destruction of the voyage ; for there could be none of the Lord's protecting and defending grace, where the child of the *Pope*, and the Priest of *Baal* was ; I was neither angered or discouraged by his folly, but still attended him with tenderness, and, it pleased God, with success.

This man's unhappy frame of mind set me upon reflecting on the wickedness of the Ecclesiasticks of what profession soever, who imprint on young and tender minds, easily moulded to good or bad, such unhappy prejudices, as act upon, and direct their minds for ever afterwards, raising up in them rancour and malice to all who profess not Christ in their own way ; and which, if power and opportunity should happen, always ends in the Spirit and act of persecution. If we look back upon the ancient *Crusade*, or holy war, with what horror

nor shall we observe rivers of Christian blood shed for a religious frolick or emergency, if I may use the word religious here, though, I think, Ecclesiastick is more expressive. And for what? Why, for a parcel of stones and walls, which they were pleased to term the holy sepulchre; for this wicked whim have nations been shocked, their trade and policy ruined, and many thousands of private families brought to final and irretrievable destruction; if we look on the actions of the bigotted within a few Centuries, we see general massacres, and private murders around us, racks, faggots, fires, halters and axes, as if the way to merit Heaven was to turn the world into an instant Hell, and, all this, under the pretence of propagating the religion of that meek and lovely Saviour and Messiah, who used no other force to procure disciples and profelytes but instruction, and intreaty, patience and long-suffering. And therefore all men of bigotted or persecuting minds strongly argue against themselves, that they are not the followers of Christ, who was so far from impressing his doctrine by fury and overbearing, that at a time when his life was attacked and immediately afterwards taken away, he rebuked *Peter* for drawing a sword in his defence, telling him, *those that live by the sword shall die by it*; and in the great and distinguishing *Mark* which he fixes on his followers and the true believers, he says, *By this shall men know ye are my Disciples, that you love one another*. And in another place, *A new commandment I give unto you, that you love one another*:
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And here I will, and hence conclude, that rancour, bigotry, malice, and persecution positively affirm, that those actuated by them cannot be the Disciples of Christ, whose religion is all sweetness, benevolence, and brotherly love.

I endeavoured, as much as I possibly could, to reduce this headstrong poor man to reason, and therefore went constantly at every meal with the boy, who carried his victuals, which was the best the ship afforded, to wait upon him and enquire into his health: I carried also such cordials as I thought were fit to be administered to him, but he was still thankless. At last, I began to remind him of his ingratitude, and told him, though he said he expected no good of any but his own countrymen, he might now be convinced, that he must have perished if it was not for the care of those that were not such; I then took occasion to speak of the Parable of the good *Samaritan*, and told him, when the Priest and *Levite* passed by the wounded *Jew*, without relieving him, and turned their heads another way, the *Samaritan*, though a professed enemy to all *Jews*, moved by humanity, not only dressed his wounds for the present, but took care of his cure and support during his sickness; and this *Samaritan* Christ affirmed to be his neighbour, because he did what became a man of tenderness and good nature to a stranger. I had very little answer to all my discourses with him, but hums, and haws, and groans, till one day, being upon the same office, when the bone began to knit, which is attended with a
good

good deal of pain, the thankless creature told me with anger, that I only pretended to know how to set a bone on purpose to torture him, and that he wished he had rather been suffered to die than have been so handled, and put to so much pain. I cannot say, but I was a little incensed at so much ingratitude and ignorance, but recollecting myself, and subduing the rising passion, I told him calmly, that the bone was then joining, therefore would be a little more painful than usual, and that he may be assured all I did was to assist and recover him; for I could not design malice to any man. He made me no answer, but that he thought he could sleep and bid me leave him to himself.

The calm still continued, and our men applied themselves to fishing, by which means our tables were very agreeably varied; and from looking at them at this diversion, I got over one very great prejudice, which I had contracted from viewing sign-posts. I saw them one day pull up a very large fish with a big head and large fins, when upon asking what they called it, and being told it was a Dolphin, I was quite surprized, for I always thought it as crooked as it is painted; but this was a fine strait creature, and when dressed, for I never thought so ugly a monster eatable, was quite as good as any Salmon I ever tasted in *England*, and not unlike it in the taste.—— These amusements held us till suddenly a smart fresh gale sprung up, and we made way now as fast as we moved slowly before. In two days they begun to turn the ship towards the
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the land, and I observed as we drew towards the shore, the water, which out at sea appear extremely clear and free from any taint of dirt or weeds, began now to be dull and muddy, and increased its dusky colour as we approached the coast: in short, after having been between *Jamaica* and this coast six and thirty days, the evening of the six and thirtieth day, by dusk we got to the bar of *Charles-Town*, and dropped anchor. As soon as that was done I called all the men upon deck, who came willingly, and we together cheerfully gave thanks to God for our prosperous and pleasant, though long voyage.

We lay at anchor all night, and early in the morning, as soon as it was light, the Captain ordered a gun to be fired, which brought a pilot on board, who at high water steered us over the bar, and then having sailed by my computation, about a league and a half farther, the anchor was dropped again.

The Captain quickly dressed himself, and having ordered out the long boat, with four hands, he got ready to go on shore; when he spoke to me thus. I go on shore before you, to enquire, amongst my other business, if your friend and mine is in *Charles-Town*, or at his plantation, till I know this I don't care to take you to the town, for fear of being obliged to lodge you in a public house, or be forced to take you every night on board: I leave you, said he, smiling, commander of the ship, and order the Mate to bring her, with the evening tide, close up to the town; I will return by noon, or at farthest by night, and take care

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you are able to give me a good account of your conduct. So saying he went into the boat and rowed away.

I don't know that ever I was more delighted with the prospect of a country, than with that of *Carolina*, it appeared all green, filled with fine lofty woods, and every here and there lovely openings of meadows or plantations, to this prospect I had added that of *Ashly* and *Cowper* rivers, one running North and the other South; which at first I took to be fresh water rivers, but I found afterwards, to my great disappointments, that they were but influxes, or arms of the sea, which ran up the country, I had also a good part of *Charles-Town* in view, and might see it all, if I had the foolish courage to go up to the round tops, but that was an exploit beyond my daring. In short, I never saw any place so delightfully rural as the whole country appeared, and I promised myself a great deal of happiness here, if the inhabitants were as pleasing as the place of their dwelling.

Before the heat began, which is not near so troublesome here as in *Jamaica*, I had all the crew upon the deck, and after having read the service of the day, I told them, in a short extempore exhortation, that I was in all human probability about to leave them in a few hours, and I begged them that the intention of my endeavours with them might not be lost; for, they would find, upon mature and sober reflection, that keeping up to the duties of the Christian Religion would, in the end, be infinitely preferable to the indulgence of any carnal

carnal and sinful desires or appetites, and would contribute to make them happy, not only in a future state, but make the chances and changes of this mortal life more tolerable than if it were Heaven's will to grant them prosperity and a competent livelihood; it would sweeten and add to the blessing, and that, by it, poverty and misery would lose their painful stings, and thereby they would be able to sustain cheerfully any afflicting or trying dispensation which it should please the wisdom of providence to lay upon to them; that there was no true refuge in misery but religion, and that without it, abundance would grow tasteless and a snare to them. I farther observed to them, that there was no man so busily employed in the affairs of this world who could not, if he was well-disposed, find time, twice at least in the four and twenty hours, to offer up his petitions to heaven, confess his sins, and thank God for his mercies, and that the neglect of this so easy, pleasant, and necessary duty would prove one of the most terrible pangs on a death-bed, and that the blessings attending piety would not only be theirs, but would descend to their unborn generations; they were all much moved, and most of them with tears, promised that they would, by God's grace, follow to the best of their power the lessons I had taught them, and all seemed to bemoan the loss they should sustain in me.

I then called the boys and catechised them before the men, and explained, in as plain a method as I could, the particulars as we went through them; in this I had a view which I

did not let the men know, which was to give them hints, with which, perhaps, they were unacquainted before, that they might be serviceable to the children when I was gone; this done, I recommended the boys, with great earnestness to them, and begged they would bestow a little of their leisure time on them, in hearing them read the Old and New Testament, the common Prayer, and examining them in their Catechism, all which they promised to do faithfully, to my very great satisfaction.

This being ended, I spoke to them thus, My friends, our meeting all together again will be very uncertain, therefore I desire that you will all dine with me. I have no thoughts of seeing the Captain till night, and we may innocently and soberly spend the time together that is not requisite for doing the duty of the ship. They were all thankful, and then I called to the Cook, and delivered to him out of my stores a large leg of pork, and pease for a very big pudding, butter and the like, with flour, eggs, and fruit, for another; I ordered him to kill a dozen of the best fowls, to boil six with bacon and some greens I had remaining, and roast the other six. I delivered to the Mate, as my Butler, six quarts of my fine old rum, and fruit and sugar sufficient, six bottles of *Madeira* wine, and a few remaining bottles of *English* cyder I had by me; and this I thought sufficient for the entertainment of my fellow voyagers in a sober way, for beside the sick *Scotchman*, the boys and myself, there were but nine men in the vessel. The Cook
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fell to work, and with his assistants, soon dispatched the fowls; the Carpenter, without bidding, went immediately and fitted up a long table of planks under the awning, with a bench on each side for the men, of which being informed by the Mate, I gave him a couple of large table-cloths to spread over this rough table, and knives and forks, and white biskets for the men. He then went to work in his province, and quickly cooked up a large bucket of punch.

By two o'clock all things were in readiness, and all the victuals, without the form of courses, was laid upon the table at once. After craving a blessing, I chose out the best and youngest roast fowl, and sent it, with about a pint of wine, to my *Scotchman*, and then sat chearfully and comfortably to the refreshment with a set of honest and good men. When they had drank a little they began to be something too noisy for my head, therefore retiring, with a promise of returning soon, I went with one of the boys, as soon as he had dined, to my friend *Erwine*, whom now I found in a better temper than ever I knew him; for as soon as I sat down by him, Sir, says he, I believe, under God, you saved my life, Heaven bless you for it; besides I find myself much heartened by the meal you sent me to day; I will pray for you during my life, but I will pray especially that God may open your eyes, and shew you the true light, for you are a good man. I could not forbear smiling at the poor man's bigotry, but, as it was his principle, I took it in good part, and told him,
friend

friend *Erwine*, I thank you for your good wishes, but I have not done with you yet, for as soon as we come to *Charles-Town*, I intend to have you ashore, and get you what assistance you shall want. At these words he caught fast hold of my hands, and pressed it a little too much between his, crying, Ah you are a good man, God blefs you, and convert you, and open your eyes, I say again, to the true light, for there is none but one light. I left my man in this disposition, and went to my friends on deck, whom I found quite sober, but a little chearful, but so prudent that they had put by most of their liquor, as well as the remaining part of their provision till night. The evening drawing on, and the tide flowing in, I told the Mate it was the Captain's orders that the vessel should be brought up close to the town that tide ; whereupon he immediately gave orders for weighing the anchor, and having got it on board ; the sails were spread, and in less than two hours, though there was little or no wind, we came up close to the town, so close, that instead of anchoring or mooring, the ship was confined by ropes, run through iron rings, which were in the planks of the key, and then farther secured by being tied round large posts set there for that purpose.

By this time it was very near the close of the day, when I expected the Captain, but to no purpose ; so having performed every service, and supped, I retired to the cabin, and making a little punch, I sat to it with a pipe, of which I was but an indifferent Master, hoping

ing he would come before I went to bed. My head was now full of the design of my voyage; I thought myself even criminal in not pursuing the conversion of the heathens, and fancied to myself that I should find but little to do in *Carolina* in that way; for, thought I, if they are as unwilling here, as in *Jamaica*, to have their slaves instructed, I shall have no more to work upon but the natives, whose language must be first learned, and when learned I shall find many difficulties in getting them to assemble to be taught.

I was full of this thought, when, by my watch, observing that it was past eleven o'clock, and that I had sat longer than usual, for here the days and nights are at all times pretty much of a length, I retired to bed, still wrapped up in the meditation that had employed my head all the evening.

I in some time, as I suppose, fell asleep; for whether I had a dream or a vision I cannot determine; I thought myself in a beautiful place of retirement, where there was nothing to interrupt silence and meditation, and no human creature near me; I thought myself engaged in the same contemplation which had possessed me all the evening, and finding, as I imagined, no people to work upon, I was resolving to go elsewhere: on a sudden I thought the whole building was shaken with a terrible whirlwind, and I feared it was tumbling upon my head, when a large folding gate flew open on the East side, and I saw, coming up a lofty and pompous pair of stairs, an Old Man in a strange dress, and of a most austere countenance,

tenance, leading a Youth with him in an uncommon dress, but not such as he wore. He walked up to me with some fierceness, and looking at me stedfastly, said, Dost thou know me, *James*? No, I replied, trembling all over. No, quoth he, know you not your Guardian; it is I who watch over you, and direct all your actions; it is I who made you leave home; it was I who protected you from your enemies in *Jamaica*, and raised you up friends wherever you went, and your ingratitude will not know me now? I am your Guardian Spirit, and am come to reprove you for your thoughts of leaving *Carolina*, for here is the spot of your harvest, and here are you to plant such fruit as shall refresh and support generations to come; leave, therefore, the motions of your mind to Heaven, and now look and wonder; this Youth, that I present to you shall be your great assistant, when you have opened his eyes, for, alas, he is as yet blind; behold his eyes. I did so, and thought that two very strong and thick films or skins covered them. I had much compassion on him, and taking him by the hand I embraced him, and would willingly have kept him with me, but the old guide took him from me with some roughness, and told me, the time is not come, but when it is, see that you are prepared, see that nothing is lost that is given to you; for all that is will be required at your hands; I too must be, though I have loved you from your infancy, an evidence, and bear testimony against you. The harvest is drawing near, be prepared with your sickle in your hand, and separate the weeds

weeds from the corn, that you may give whole-
some bread to those whom you are obliged
to feed. Remember me, open the eyes of this
youth, and you will thereby give sight unto
thousands; remember, and farewell. Then
they went down the same way they came,
attended with a whirl-wind.

I awaked at the instant, all over in a shiver-
ing; but being composed, and having collect-
ed myself together, I ascribed it only to my
thinking so much on the subject, and so rested
quietly the remainder of the night.

This, though it appeared to me at that time,
as it may to all who shall hereafter read this
account, to be no more than the farce and
painting of an overflowing and labouring ima-
gination, proved afterwards to have some-
thing in it of a strange and unaccountable na-
ture, as will be observed in the sequel of this
narration.

Very early the next morning the Captain
and his men came on board with the boat,
and after having looked about the ship, and
seen that all things were right, he came down
to me, who was but newly risen, and just had
finished dressing, and my private devotions.
So, Parson, says he, I suppose you thought
you had lost me, but my business kept me too
late to think of coming to the vessel: I have
executed most of my business, and all yours,
for I have seen your friend, Mr. *Carter*, who
expects you at dinner; I have sold off all your
rice to a very good advantage, and as much of
your rum as you cared to part with; for I
would not have had you sold it all, but re-
served

served such a quantity by you as might serve your own use, till you could send to Mr. *Ellen* in *Jamaica*, with conveniency ; as for the rice, it could be of little worth to you, except you quickly turned planter, which I scarcely suspected, and you have made a good market of it.

I now began to grow quite impatient to see Mr. *Carter* ; I had formed to myself an idea of his person, and longed to know if I had been lucky in my imagination. The Captain and I drank our tea pretty silent, he being engaged in thought about his traffic, and I in a chain of the most confused whims that ever entered any man's head, without the least joining or likeness, and seemed rather to be dreaming awake than thinking. The morning duty of my function being performed, and the Captain being busy about his merchandize in the ship, I retired to the cabin, and gave myself up entirely to thinking on the new state of life I was entering upon ; my last night's dream came fresh into my memory, that *Carolina* was the spot of my harvest. It may be so, thought I, but by what dispensation I cannot as yet conceive ; then I thought of the words, *Leave the motions of your mind to Heaven ;* but that had so strong an air of Enthusiasm, or frantick Religion, that I slightly passed it over. Then I began to doubt of my abilities for so great a work ; and this wrought so strongly on me, that I burst into speech, crying aloud, And what am I, Lord, that I should be thy messenger to the Gentiles. And then being a while silent, I replied to myself, But he will
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accept of the intention of those who are upright and simple of heart. From this I presently passed into another fancy, which was forming schemes of life to myself, laying down the manner in which my time should be spent; so many hours for retirement, so much in company; such a quantity for refreshment, and so much for exercise and recreation. In short, being thus employed for about four or five hours, I was quite giddy, and a little feverish, and had been worse if I had not been interrupted by the Captain. How industrious are we, poor wretches, to plague and torture ourselves with things that are not, and probably never may be, when we are quite neglectful of the things that are and must be for our eternal misery or happiness. The Captain broke in upon me, by telling me it was time to dress and think of going ashore. I had every thing to do towards dressing, even to shaving; so that he staying in the cabin while all was doing, and holding me in discourse, he soon put those whims out of my head; but before I began, he told me I looked worse than usual, and advised me to drink a glass of wine, and eat a bisket, which I willingly did, for my spirits were quite worn out. My friend *Bird*, when I was dressed all but my upper garments, was very urgent with me to put on my Canonicals, that is, my Gown and Cassock; but I made him be content with my putting on a suit of black Paduasoy, which I had never worn before, it being too cold for *England*, and I never dressed much in *Jamaica*. Thus habited like a grave Laick, I

was ready to attend the Captain to my long'd, for visit.

After taking a kind of a formal leave of all the men, particularly I recommended *Erwine* to their care, whom I also called to see, and the man seemed a little concerned at my going; for the most stubborn tempers may be wrought upon and reformed by good offices, though perhaps little merited. I told the crew I would not fail to visit them sometimes, and begged them to let me see as many as could be spared from the ship, every Sabbath day at the Church, which they promised, and which they performed, and then went with the Captain ashore into the town. I was surprized in so new a Colony, to see a town so large for the time, and some of the houses very handsomely built with brick, but the greater part with wood, which I afterwards found to be to their advantage, because any planter may cut down what timber he pleases for the sake of clearing the country, which is very much over-grown with trees. In the centre of the town our journey ended, for the Captain knocked at the door of a very fine brick-house, ornamented with stone; the door was immediately opened, and the Captain being known to the servants, we were conducted into a parlour very richly furnished. We had not waited long when Mr. *Carter* came to us, and saluting us both in the most polite manner, without farther ceremony, he said, "Mr *Bird*, I am sure this is the worthy Gentleman you spoke to me of, and therefore, without the tedious formalities used upon the meeting of strangers,

strangers, give me leave to receive you, Sir, taking me by the hand, as a brother and countryman; I am no friend to ceremonies, except where they are absolutely necessary, and then they must be complied with, and therefore assure you, in my plain and sincere way, that there is no act of friendship or service which I can do for you here, or any where else, that I shall not take a pleasure in the execution of; and I hope you will look upon me with the same brotherly eye that I do you.”

“Sir, returned I, it gives me the greatest joy to meet with a Gentleman that is so much to my satisfaction; and I profess I shall ever think myself happy in shewing you that I am of the same simple and open temper as you yourself are.”

I think I never in my life beheld a more agreeable man than Mr. *Carter* was; he had surely been in his Youth very handsome; for now, as I afterwards understood, he was in his eight and thirtieth year, there was something in him that took me at first sight; his looks had something lofty and commanding, but they were tempered by a certain sweetness and condescension, both in the action of his face, and the tone of his voice, the sound of which proclaimed, the moment he spoke, his good nature; he was tall and admireably well made, not very robust, but far from feeble, and all his politeness sat so easy upon him, that it was evident it proceeded from nature, and was not the effect of art or affection.—

“Captain, says he, I began to be afraid you had disappointed me, or that something ailed
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my friend, Mr. *Walcot*; I dreaded dinner being spoiled, and had some thoughts of sending down to the vessel. Come, Mr. *Walcot*, let us retire to the dining-room, where I will give you a proof of my plainness; for I know it is common on the first reception of strangers to add greatly to the family meal; now I promise you, upon my honour, that I have not added a morsel to my ordinary dinner, and that you'll eat to day as you will every day whilst we are together, which I wish, if it should not prove to your disadvantage, to be during our lives. Capt. I make you no stranger, you know the way; nay, nobody is a stranger, for I make as free with Mr. *Walcot*, as if we had passed years together, as I hope we shall."

In the dining-room, which was much more sumptuous than the parlour, we found a side-board of plate, fit for a man of the first quality, and we were no sooner seated than the table was covered with fish, fowl, venison, and all the varieties of the place, served in plate and china; I must own, I was a little put out of my way by this fine appearance, but I took no notice. After dinner, at which we had the most pleasant Sherbert, Madeira, and Port Wines, says my Host, "Mr. *Walcot*, I made a mistake in the profession of my plainness, for I will this day entertain you with what I cannot come at every day of my life, that is *French* wine, which I am much of opinion you have not tasted since you left *Europe*. I have it, and it is most excellent. I have now, continued he, Sir, addressing himself to me, something to say to you of consequence

quence to us both, and before I begin, I shall intreat you to hear me out, and then if you are so disposed, object what you will to my request. In the first place, you are come hither a single man, without Church preferment or any settlement, or the view of any, your chief end being to preach and promote the Christian Religion amongst the *American* Heathens; your design is glorious, and God prosper it; but give me leave to observe to you that a settled home will be a very comfortable article, whither you may retire when you have done your duty: Now, Sir, if you will favour me so far, as to give me your company, my house, both in the town and country, shall be as much at your command as mine, and all the conveniences they afford shall be at your disposal; but lest this should shock your spirit, as carrying an air of dependency, I shall, in return, desire that you would act as my domestic Chaplain; nay, very probably, in the country I may find you both a chapel and a congregation; and it is very hard, if doing the duties of this nature does not richly, nay trebly deserve the mere keeping of one Gentleman; for indeed, Mr. *Walcot*, with us a man's board and lodging is nothing, it does not cost us a shilling extraordinary at the year's end. I tell you this, that you may think it the smaller, or no obligation at all, and believe me, I positively speak truth, I shall be the gainer by it. The next thing I have to propose to you is this, I have bought of the Captain all the goods of yours, except such a quantity of rum as you shall please to keep, to the value of

of 230 l. sterling, and I look upon myself as well treated in the bargain; now I desire to know if you will have the money, for I have it in English coin, being never without a tolerable sum, will you trade by the Captain to *Jamaica*, or will you have it laid out in *England*, upon such commodities as sell best here? but the last, I tell you, is the best.”

“Sir, *says I*, it is impossible for you so well to conceal your generous disposition, but I must see it, for all the genteel veil you endeavour to throw over it. I accept, Sir, your friendly offer, and shall insist upon being employed in that station.” “Oh, never fear, *said the Captain*, you will not want employment, for he loves going to church as well as you do.” “As to the affair of trade, *continued I*, it shall be disposed of as you please; for I, from this moment, look upon you as my friend and patron.” “Your friend and brother, interrupted the good man, and here is to the close cement and union of our amity.” Then filling his glass, it went round; on a sudden Mr. *Carter* seemed thoughtful, and a silence ensued; at last breaking it, he said, My good friends, it came into my mind this moment how many glorious dispensations of the Almighty are shewn for the good of his creatures, and how little they are noticed by the multitude, and looked upon as strokes of chance, not as any divine resignation: I have lived eight and thirty years in this giddy world, and till I was thoroughly afflicted, I saw not there was mercy. The Almighty made use of the inhumanity and injustice of
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my relations to be the instrument of sending me to seek bread at *London*, providence thence removed me to *America*, and placed me in this house as a servant, where I am now a master. I'll tell you the whole story some day or other, Mr. *Walcot*, and then, which is the thing that brought it into my head; the ill treatment you met with at *Jamaica* was the means of furnishing me with a valuable friend and companion; so that if we look with some attention on the ways of providence, we shall find every seeming evil to be but a concealed method of leading us to happiness. But now, Sir, I have mentioned chance, pray how does that worthy sect of philosophers go on in *England*, who are for persuading themselves, and all with whom they converse, that the world or worlds are all a lucky hit, and only a more than usual happy stroke of chance?"

"Indeed, Sir, *replied I*, they are much the same as when you left them, only with this great difference, that from Generals they are now come to particulars. A new Apostle is sent to them by the devil, called *Woolston*, who, without shame, for his ignorance and wickedness, or fear of the punishment which he most richly deserves, publickly has attacked in his weak, loathsome libels, the divinity of Christ and his miracles; this he has attempted to do in an humorous manner; but so far in his writing from wit, that I may say, without being pushed on by prejudice, he scarcely writes common sense, and his wretched endeavours at pleasantry are the meanest and lowest of all ribald scribbling that ever appeared;

peared; yet this wretch has his friends and favourers; nay, in the polite part of the town, he wants not those who publickly and vigorously defend and endeavour to spread his cursed doctrine, and turn into ridicule all who are not weak, or wicked enough, to be of their giddy and pernicious way of thinking. He has been very sufficiently answered, and confuted by several Divines; but his disciples will hear nothing against him, and always laugh at what they cannot give an answer to.”

“ I have, *said Mr. Carter*, the greatest respect imaginable for the *English* constitution, and look upon it as the happiest and best calculated for the welfare of the subject of any upon earth, and yet this instance convinces me, that there is still something defective in it. Laws are provided and made for the punishment of Felons, Murderers, and Traitors, and it is very certain, that these laws are executed rigidly, often for the ends they were made. Should any man in the King’s dominions deny his authority to govern, and his son’s right, to succeed him, and fly in the face of the magistracy by any act of treason; such as endeavouring to raise up a rebellious party, and encourage, assist, and abet them in their traiterous practices for the breaking the succession, and excluding the son of the Monarch from right or power, such, upon conviction, would certainly suffer for his crime according to the most bitter letter of the law. How many have been hampered, to the ruin of their fortunes, for writing or publishing treasonable pamphlets? Now, the case is as parellel and exact

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as things human and divine can be. And is it not monstrous, that a disgusted, perverted, or artful villain shall insult and villify, with poor low scurrility, the King of Kings, whose throne is in the heaven, tax and condemn the wonderful ways and workings of providence? and to add to the crime, not content with such outrages, corrupts the morals and principles of the youth of three nations, teaching them, by following his cursed tenets, to bring down, by their sins, judgments and heavy visitations on their country; for, I protest I am strongly of opinion, that all national miseries are owing to national sins; and that the late rebellion on the Accession of his Majesty to the Throne of his Ancestors, was decreed as a punishment for the very flagrant and crying sins of a people, who, being blessed with many mercies, and victories over their enemies in the late reign, were, at the same time, plotting and conspiring to destroy and overturn that happy and holy religion, which is the foundation and corner-stone of their liberty, and introduce a person whose interest, as well as desire, it was to make them as wretched as ever they were happy. There is no man living that abhors persecution in religious cases more than I do, or has a more confirmed aversion to any thing that carries the air or complexion of an inquisition; but I am, however, of opinion, that there may some middle way be found to punish and make ignominious the preachers and promoters of such destructive notions; for, Sir, these sort of men do not stop at speculation, and content themselves

with the theory of deism and infidelity, they reduce it to practice, which is to indulge every favourite desire or lust, give the full reign to appetites ; and though they pretend to comprize all the scheme of their actions in the word morality, there are no men upon the earth practice it less ; and no wonder, for they look upon pain and pleasure to be all that can be conceived of evil or good ; and no doubt then they will chuse good, which is pleasure, before evil, which is pain : And as pleasure consists with them in a free indulgence of all things agreeable to them, they look upon nothing to be criminal which conduces to the procuring of good, if thereby they do not endanger themselves by offending the laws of man ; hence, therefore, what ravages are committed by these moral men in the indulgence of fleshly lust, families put into confusion, and sometimes destroyed by the ruin of a daughter, tradesmen brought to bankrupts by the debts of these moralists ; and, in short, all the train of miseries that can afflict the human state, often flow from the practice of these wretches, who are above the rules of revealed religion. Hence I conclude, and, I think, justly, that they are pestilential members of society, and should be dealt with in some manner, which, I hope, the wisdom of our law-makers may find out. Since I am got into the fit of haranguing, I will say a few words upon our dealers in chance-work, and tire you no longer.” “ Sir, *says I*, such discourse, and so uttered, can never be tiresome ; I protest I mean no compliment,”

pliment." "Well, said Mr. Carter, no matter, you and I are never to compliment one another ; but to the point. Of all the wild notions that ever entered the head of man, there is none that gives me greater surprize than that mad assertion, that all things were made by chance ; the first intent of this was, without doubt, to deny the godhead indirectly ; for if things could jump accidentally into form and regularity, there were no need of a prime Mover and Creator : But here an unlucky difficulty falls upon them, which is, that they must allow the matter which the world is formed of to be eternal, and existing of itself before time, seasons, or periods began. Its matter of astonishment, to think how any rational creature can undertake to defend such a principle ; for if things were made by chance, of necessity they must act by chance, and consequently their actions and motions must be irregular, and subject to confusion. Now, the direct contrary is seen every day ; is not the daily motion of the sun, according to the variation of seasons, the same throughout the year ? Is not the monthly course of the moon visibly regular, and her governance of the tides evident to every considering body ; the revolution of the planets is performed in exactly one period of time, from age to age. Who can reflect on the certain succession of the seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter, following one another, and acting at their different times by method, for the benefit of man, in producing the fruits of the earth, and then think that the world was
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either framed or conducted by chance? Would not a man, who should produce a watch, in a company of men of sense, a machine, though delicate, but poorly imitating the heavenly motions, and should affirm, that brass, steel, and silver lying together in his closet, on a sudden cast themselves by their own power, into certain forms, which being done, they united into the figure of a watch, and having set themselves a-going, will go on to eternity, without assistance or winding up, appear a most flagrant liar? Or at least one who had a mind to divert the company with an uncommon falsehood; he certainly would. What then must he appear to be, who affirms the great machine, the earth, firmament, &c. whose regular motions are confirmed by some thousands of years experience, should be the work of chance? He must appear either really or affectedly mad, if mischievous to be confined, and if in offensive, to be pitied and relieved by christian and philosophic instruction."

"I have often thought, Sir, *said I*, that there might be a method found out, to hinder the spreading of this pestilence, and I have imagined I could furnish some hints which may contribute towards it; and this may be done without any remarkable harshness or severity; though I look upon the liberty of the press as a very great blessing to the people of *England*, yet even that is corrupted by the wantonness of some men, and the evil meaning of others; and therefore, in the case of our subject, I would have it put under some little restraint, which would be found to do it

it both an honour and service, rather than any detriment, and this would be evident in a little time; for its enemies have it always as a chief argument against it, that it helps to spread notions to the prejudice of religion; and this argument I have heard used by some that I feared, had no religion at all. First, then, I would propose, that some prelate of sound learning should be chosen to be an inspector of all books upon divine or religious subjects, and, that none should be printed, under a severe penalty, till authorized by him; that he should point out to the author the faults, if but few and not wickedly intended, which being corrected, and again revised by the prelate, may then pass to the press for publication; but that if any were written, controverting or assailing the main body of christianity, that such should be rejected, the author cautioned not to write such for the future, and admonished, at his peril, not to dare to print it beyond sea, and then presume to import it for sale, for that then he and the publisher should be prosecuted with the utmost severity. Moreover, all Booksellers and Printers should be warned formally, under a rigorous penalty, not to re-print or publish any books which had given offence and scandal to christianity, a list of which should be given them, nor pretend to import such copies, under the same penalty. By this means we might hope, in some years, not to be stared in the face from every bookseller's shelves, and *Moorfields* stalls, by *Hobbs*, *Tindal*, *Toland*, *Collins*, *Shaftesbury*, *Woolston*, and the

the rest of that pernicious herd." " Ay, *says* Mr. Carter, you have provided pretty well against books, but these doctrines may be spread by Talkers; and, let me tell your Reverence, that there is more mischief done by talk than by reading; for every man will listen to a subject he likes, but there are very few who give themselves the trouble of reading on points of debate; and you may remark that half the wild sects of Enthusiasts, and poor erring christians we have, had all the poison from the mouth of the preacher, very few of such mad religionists being able to write."

" Sir, *said* I, I am infinitely obliged to you for putting me in mind of what I had like to have passed over; but now you have recalled it to my mind, I will tell you my plan for preventing the mischief from the Talker. I would have a board or committee of divines appointed, to sit for the examination of such cases. When information was given them of any blasphemous principle published by words, they should have power to cite or call the offender before them by proper officers, on whom the fact being proved, they should proceed to sentence him to be fined, imprisoned, or do public penance, according to the nature of the crime, and the age, circumstances, and quality of the person; for the second, the punishment should be doubled; and on conviction of the third offence, he should be presented by the church-wardens, and other officers of the parish where the crime was committed, to the Grand Jury of the

the city, if in one, or to that of the county, if done in the county at large, by whom he should be found to be guilty; and upon trial, by evidence, and his guilt still appearing to be in a reprobate manner, thrice repeated, he should be condemned and transported for seven years; and even then not to return without a certificate of his good life and conversation, during the time of his banishment, from three Clergymen living near or in the place of his residence. And by these means, Sir, I should not doubt, in a few years, but that all coffee-houses, and other public places of resort, would be rid of such banes to society."

"What a dreadful risque do these unbelieving wretches run, said Mr. *Carter*, not so much from any real principles, as from an affection of being thought singular; if they would take the smallest pains to state the case fairly, they would find it to stand exactly thus, if there is not a God, in the manner conceived by christians, consisting in three Persons, and but one God-Head, as is taught by the holy Scriptures, where is the detriment or damage of believing like the generality of the christian world? It can be no affront to human understanding, not to be thought infinite, which it must be, before it can conceive and comprehend infinity; and how does a man seem to be dull, priest-ridden, and groping in the dark, if he honestly confesses that his knowledge cannot arrive at what is incomprehensible? But if on the other hand there is, and certainly there is, a God of unlimited attributes and

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power, *The I am that I am*, how dreadful and shocking must be the death-bed reflections of one who sacrificed the prospect of a blessed futurity to the vanity and wickedness of being known and pointed at for an infidel, who grew so by his fine apprehension and deep learning ; for these are the rocks they all split upon ? How can he hope to look that God in the face whom he denied, or shaped into what mode and form his mad imagination raised up to him. But your scheme, Mr. *Walcot*, would strike a bold stroke for the rooting up or reforming such wretches ; I did not think you had been so much of the *Lawyer*, as to invent penal laws for such offenders, and then prescribe a method for putting them in execution."

" Oh, *replied the Captain, who was hitherto silent*, you don't know half of the *Parson's* perfections, he is not only a Divine and a Lawyer, but he is also a Physician and a Surgeon, as one of my men can prove to his great happiness, for he saved his leg which was broken in the voyage, and thereby his life, which would have been, at least, much endangered in our unskilful hands." This brought the *Scotchman* to my mind, and I begged the *Captain* to send him ashore that I might have his limb examined by some professed Surgeon in town.

The cool of the day being come, the *Captain* went to his vessel, and my friend, after shewing me my apartment, took me into his gardens, which were far beyond my expectation in so hot a country ; here he repeated over again all the offers of his friendship, which he

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had before used in the house, and that in so undefigning a manner, that I became quite easy and looked ever after on him with the eyes of a brother. Among things of mixed discourse he told me, I had turned merchant in a very good time, for *Carolina* used rather to supply other colonies with provision, than buy of them; but that by some misfortune happening to their canes and rice the year before, they were obliged the whole present year to traffick, merely for meat and drink, with their neighbours. His treatment of me this day, and his happy and pleasing turn of conversation, gave me reason to hope my life must be most agreeably spent with such a companion; and it was so, for never did two men live in more perfect amity than we did, seeming to have but one mind and one desire in all things. In a little time I had all my goods, books, harpsicord, &c. brought me, and I began to find myself really at home, my hours were all my own, never broken in upon by any impertinent interruption, my time of study and private devotion was quite sacred; and yet with study, retirement, and all other duties performed, Mr. *Carter* and I found a sufficient quantity of time for recreation and amusement.

By the time I had been here a month, by the means of Mr. *Carter*, I became acquainted with the best people in the town, and, amongst the rest, with the Minister of St. *Philip's*, a very learned and worthy Old Gentleman. I found the merchants, and indeed the lowest tradesmen to be affable, civil, and obliging, not in the least resembling the common run of

Jamaica, and what pleased me still more, was, that I observed them all, from the meanest to the highest, grave and full of reverence in the time of worship, and free from a thousand ludicrous sinful lightnesses, I had observed in our churches in *England*.

The Minister was Old, and I was conscious that he must want assistance ; but as he never made me an offer of his pulpit, I did not think it decent to make any advances towards him ; but this we got over in a little time, for in a visit that he paid Mr. *Carter* and me, after general discourse, he fell himself upon the difficulties of his duty ; I immediately grasped at the occasion, and told him, that if he would accept of my assistance, while I staid in town, I would read and preach for him every Sunday morning, and read also in the evening when he should preach. The good Old Man received the offer with joy, and told me, that the business of the Sabbath day was beyond his strength, and that he would make me any reasonable satisfaction I should desire ; I told him what I should do, I would do without hire ; for that by the goodness and bounty of my friend, Mr. *Carter*, I was at no expence, and wanted for nothing, and that I thought it my duty to work and labour in the vine-yard, whenever the Lord thereof put it into my power ; beside that, I was Domestick Chaplain to Mr. *Carter*, and therefore could enter into no formal engagements without his allowance. *Well, well*, says my friend, you have my consent, since, it seems, you ascribe a power to me, to help Mr. *Mason* as much as you can, or please,

please, provided always that he gives us his company a little oftner, and never pretends to offer you any consideration for your acting for him.

Upon this agreement I applied myself industriously to my duty, and determined to write a sermon every week, though I was pretty well stocked before; but the visiting the sick, and praying with them, who were then very numerous, broke in entirely upon that scheme, and I found that I must not be idle if I could produce one in three weeks. I must not here forget to speak of the noble and charitable principle which was universal amongst the more wealthy inhabitants; for upon my preaching a sermon, recommending the sick and poor to their care and benevolence, they immediately constituted a fund for their use, of all the necessaries and comforts of life. They provided also for them a physician and apothecary, that no medicine or advice should be wanting; and on my or Mr. Mason's certifying their necessity, they were allowed all the seasonable and cordial reliefs that the doctor approved of. Amongst these was my *Scotchman*, who was lodged and attended at their charge, though the surgeon, who was also the apothecary, declared, upon opening and viewing his limb, that he wanted no other assistance, but what he might have from his first operator. I don't know but this might give me a little vanity, but I endeavoured to check it, and give the praise to whom it was due, the Eternal God, who was pleased to make me, though unworthy, his instrument
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of relieving the distress of one of his poor creatures, who must otherwise have perished in the most cruel of agonies. This charity, thus accidentally begun by a calamitous season, became in some years a blessing to the poor, a glory to God, and an endless credit and satisfaction to the contributors, for in a few years they built an hospital for the use of their necessitous sick people, and laid it under such happy rules and restrictions, that there are few charities in the christian world better conducted and disposed of.

In the course of my ministry in *Charles-Town*, I had one of the most melancholy objects to deal with that ever fell under my observation; and as there is something affecting in it, which may be a proper lesson for all impatient and unthinking sinners to reflect upon, I shall be particular in the relation. One day, Mr. *Mason* being gone into the country, I was called upon to pray with a dying person; I hastened with the messenger to the house, but good God! how was I astonished to be called to that holy duty with a drunken man, as at first sight I apprehended him to be; he sat up in his bed with his eyes fixed and staring, frothing at the mouth, and almost motionless; I told the people that he had more need of sleep than a clergyman, and gently rebuked them for thinking that a man, intoxicated with liquor, as he was, could be a proper person to join in the offering up petitions, praises, and thanksgiving to God of purity, who abhorred all excesses, and particularly drunkenness. But I was soon undeceived, for they informed

ed me that he had taken poison, which left him in that senseless condition, though it had not affected his life; upon this account I prayed by him, joined most devoutly by the few in the room, and offered up some extempore petitions for the reformation and preservation of his life, to none of which he shewed the least attention, he was so stupified and overcome by the dose he had taken. I had scarcely done when the apothecary came in, from whom I had an account of it, to this purpose:

This unhappy desperate creature was called *William Goswell*, and had formerly been a tradesman of some account in *London*; but by idleness, drinking, and other mismanagements, he found himself going downwards, and therefore, scraping together the remains of his effects and fortune, he embarked for *Carolina*, with the value of 600*l.* and upwards; here he proposed to himself a quite inactive life, supposing, that after he had fitted out a plantation, and furnished it with slaves, he had nothing to do but live at ease, and grow into wealth like the industrious planters; but in this he sadly deceived himself, for there is no part of the world where activity and industry is more requisite. Thus he trilled away about four years, always repining that he could not make the figure of consequence that *Mr. Carter* and other prime planters did, to whose attention to business their prosperity was owing. At last he ventured to look into his affairs, and found, to his surprize and vexation, that he had, instead of gaining, thrown
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away upwards of two hundred pounds of his capital stock. Upon this he took to the last recourse of madmen, hard-drinking, and had not been quite cool for near nine months before he committed this hellish attempt of self-murder. The evening before I saw him he went to the Gentleman's shop that attended him now, carefully watching when he was abroad, and got from the unsuspecting boy two ounces of liquid Laudanum, which, in his drunkenness, he took as soon as he got to his bed-chamber ; but, happy for him, the extravagant quantity of the dose saved his life, for the stomach, unable to contain the potion, begun to work ; and by the help of a great deal of punch, which was in it before, discharged this mortal enemy ; his people alarmed at the condition he was in, soon found out the Doctor, who coming, knew by the smell what he had done, and by the help of oils, and other medicines, brought up the residue, but not before it had so affected his nerves, as to deprive him of his understanding. In this condition I found the miserable man, but he was unfit either for rebuke or instruction. I left him for that time, being assured by the Apothecary, that he would, in a few days, sleep and sweat off the effects of the poison, when I resolved to attack him closely.

At my return home, I told Mr. *Carter* of the desperate wicked man, who answered, " Though it grieves me that any of God's favourite creatures should do such rash and damnable actions ; yet I am not at all surprized at what he has done ; for what could be

be expected from a man who was for ever in liquor, and never seen in any place of worship, that time being constantly spent at home in tobacco and rum; or, if he would affect a little sobriety, it was in punch, of the weakest sort? I have had great opportunities of conversing with him, for his plantation lay close to one of my late wife's; where, being often when I took care of her affairs as a steward, I often talked and spent some hours with Mr. Goswell, sometimes informing him, to the best of my knowledge, of the methods of managing his servants and plantation. Though I cannot say I ever saw any thing ill-natured in the man, yet I observed him to be a most profane swearer and curser; and when he got a little in liquor, would endeavour, as well as his poor talents and oratory would allow him, to ridicule and burlesque the sacred writings; and then would he talk of the folly of fearing death, and the uncertainty of a future state, and that no man should think of living, but a coward, when his worldly affairs were not agreeable to him. This method of talk gave me a disgust to his conversation, and I, by degrees, unperceived by him, broke off all manner of intercourse with him. God grant that this new vice which he has imported, may not prevail amongst us; it seems to be the intire property of *Old England*, where, upon every disgust, the rope, poison, or razor is immediately employed to take away a worthless life, leave a bad example to society, and run a poor soul, governed by a foolish body, into evident danger of eternal punishment. Besides,

fides, it is remarkable, that they who practise these daring executions upon themselves, are, in all other circumstances of life, notorious cowards." " Why truly, Sir, said I, I have been often of opinion, that the Old Heathen Heroes, whose actions are not fit for a christian's imitation, when they fled from worldly calamities to death, shewed rather a poor and weak spirit, unable to undergo trials, which are the touchstones of a truly great mind, than any portion of that nobility of mind, from which they would have the world to believe their acts of desperation were derived. It was the opinion of the wisest and most moral Heathen Philosopher that ever lived *, that afflictions are necessary to refine and brighten the human understanding, and looks upon them rather as the bounties of Heaven, than a scourge intended for the pain and chastisement of mankind. He expresses himself thus: *A good and virtuous man struggling with a load of misfortunes, is a sight worthy of the Gods.*— Though, among the Old Romans, a wild principle obtained some approbation, which was called Stoick virtue, or, in plain *English*, a contempt of pleasure or pain, and a feigned insensibility of either; yet I do not observe, that any of the sect ever complimented *Cato* or *Brutus* for self-murder; for they really acted upon a principle of pride, both disdaining or fearing to be subjects to a conqueror. I know with grief, that this abominable, unrepentable crime,

* *Socrates.*

crime, is too common in *England*; which I must rather ascribe to the method of life there practised, than any particular genius of the nation. From the Court of the Cottage, a strong love of luxury reigns, high eating in every class of life, in proportion to their power to procure it, and much drinking likewise, adapted to the circumstances of the people; for they who cannot be made stupid by rich wine, have recourse to beer to rob them of their senses. And the women, in low life, who cannot be disguised or thrown into the Vapours, as it is called, with Citron Water, Finoulet, or Perfico, find their cordial destruction at the gin-shop. Hence rise these unfortunate mists that cloud their reason, and send them to perdition on every slight uneasiness, or want of their beloved abundance. I have been long of opinion, that many use the means of death, without knowing what they are about, when their reason is lost in the fumes of liquors, they do these mad actions in jest, thinking of no consequence, earthly or eternal in them, till they wake from the sleep of death to the horrors and dread of judgment in earnest.—Whoever read of the poor *Indian*, broiling in heat, or of the *Tartar*, shivering in frosts, who lays violent hands upon himself? No body; they find nature content, as it really is, with little; and that little being procured, they know nothing of fears, doubts, or ambition, to which all self-murders are owing. I could wish therefore that the sumptuary laws were put in force in *England*, and people restrained from their extravagant eatings and drinkings;

and then I think we should find them not only more religious, but also more ingenious in their several businesses, trades, and studies; for I will affirm it, that I never knew a man riotous in meats and drinks, who had a clear and just understanding: such may indeed burst out sometimes into some flights of fancy; but in point of judgment, and in making nice and fair distinctions, they will ever be found defective; and when the judgment is defective and weakened, what mad and desperate actions may not be the fruits of it."

It was full seven days before the pernicious effects of the poison had left the miserable Mr. *Goswell*: I visited him every day; and when I found a return of reason in him, I earnestly exhorted him to prayer and penitence, and that he would, as well when in private, as when I was with him, beg of God to give him a perfect view and knowledge of his guilt, not only in the last heinous circumstance, but of all the sins which he had knowingly and wilfully committed.

He gave me the hearing, indeed, but very little more; for he was obstinately silent as well as sullen: He often sighed and seemed dejected; but I feared that proceeded rather from a remorse, that he had missed his purpose, than any penitential grief for an attempt so black and melancholy in its own nature. I was not, however, discouraged by all this, but resolved to persist in my duty; and for that end doubled my visits, sat by and comforted him, and sought all means of coming into a kind of intimacy with him; which was not a thing very easily effected; for now all his

his other passions and apprehensions were swallowed up in one that stuck close to him, which was, as I after discovered, a shame of appearing amongst the inhabitants of the Colony after what he had done: But my frequent visits at last opened his mouth and heart together; and he acknowledged that he was obliged to me for my care of him, but still persisted in a belief, that there was no such dreadful sin or punishment for suicide, or self-murder, as the world in general was persuaded. I found here, that all the arguments and art I was master of would be quite necessary; and therefore, leaving him for the present, I took some time to think in what manner I should address myself to a man that seemed so obstinate in his errors.

I had gained so much influence over him, that I prevailed upon him to join in prayer with me; which, I thought, to my great satisfaction, he did heartily, and with some warmth: which being done, I took hold of the occasion, and asked him, if he believed in God, according to the Apostles Creed? He answered, he did; but by keeping company with some people in *London*, he had got a foolish way of talking idly of the scriptures in his liquor; but that he meant no harm. I told him, he might mean none, but it was dangerous to trifle with the word of God, from which we derived all our hopes, and in which were contained all the promises of a blessed resurrection, if we acted according to the rules there laid down for us. “Now, Sir, said I, as you believe in a God, Father, Son,

Son, and Holy Ghost, it will naturally follow that you believe the Old and New Testaments, which are the word of God. Among many prohibitions of Sins, there is one against Murder in the collection of the laws of God, called the Ten Commandments, where it is said, *Thou shalt do no Murder*. Here the command is positive, That thou shalt not destroy by any means any man, woman, or child ; but the murder of them may be pardoned, because the person guilty may repent, and by repentance wash out his sin in the sight of God, though he may suffer by the laws of man ; but self-murder is of so horrid a nature, that there is no hope after it ; the actor of it stubbornly rejects God's mercies, and, in defiance of the majesty of heaven, does that for which he can never make the least compensation ; and I take such facts to border very nearly upon that sin which Christ tells us cannot be forgiven ; *The Sin against the Holy Ghost* : for while an unhappy man is meditating on the commission of such a crime, he is sinning against the Divine Spirit, because he must be obliged to check and suppress the motions of his conscience, which will truly inform him, that such actions are contrary to the will and laws of God ; and therefore conscience, which is acted upon by the Holy Spirit, must be entirely silenced before a man can proceed to a deed so execrable as that of laying violent hands upon himself. This is the first part of the sin ; but when the miserable wretch, abandoned to the devil, because he has rejected the spirit of God working within him, has performed

performed the hellish act, that very moment he rushes upon certain perdition; for the minute it is done, the power of repentance is lost, there being no repenting in the grave. Here then will the wretched soul wish to return to all the plagues and disappointments of the world, which are but trifles in themselves, as they must have an end; but the miseries of the condemned, in a future state, have no prospect, no hope, no alleviation of that nature; for as the spirits of the wretched are as immortal as those of the blessed, so must their punishments and tortures be never ending, fixed to no period of time, but to pass through all the shocking infinity of eternal duration. Who then would, by his own luckless hand, fly from a few uneasinesses of this life, when he must know that his punishment for so rash and sinful an action must be world without end.

“ You are also to consider that man is stationed in the world, as in a state of probation, the continuance of the time in which he is to be tried, and thereby, if he acts uprightly, qualifies himself for future blessings, is only known to God, he has even concealed the days of man's life from the angels; if then any man presumes to affix a certain period to his own life, he is guilty not only of the greatest presumption in breaking in upon the hidden secrets of heaven, but does, in the most audacious and desperate manner, contend with the Almighty, and dares to bring the power of the Lord to the level of his own headstrong and blind will; and who shall contest
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with JEHOVAH unpunished? Remember the curse *David* brought upon *Israel* by a crime less than yours, because it was a crime he could and did repent of; he numbered the people, forgetting that all strength and victory came from the Lord, and the destroying angel was sent forth to slay the people on whose valour he depended, and whose number should only be known to the council of the most holy. Observe in the laws, and policies of man, what severe punishments are inflicted on the disobedient, and wilful breakers of the known rules. If a soldier should desert the post, were he is fixed, before he is called from thence by the command of his officer, there is a trial for him, and upon proof of his disobedience to the military laws, there is sometimes death his reward for his misbehaviour; but if he is spared, by the clemency of the court, he is sure to have some corporal penalty allotted him, to remind him of his crime, and improve him in his future duty; this is something like, though it falls vastly short, of your case, the soldier may be a very useful member of this society, after he has committed the crime of deserting his post, and by watchfulness and courage make large recompence to his country and officers for his fault; but you having once deserted your station, which you had, if a most signal mercy of God had not reserved you, I hope, for better days and things, you could never return to it again, and must be yourself evidence against yourself, by pressing into eternity, without the call of your Lord and King. I should dread
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to paint the horrors which must be immediately the portion of your wretched spirit, horrors for which we have no name, nor conception of, something dreadful, and beyond the bearing of any thing but an immortal Being, which must sink under them, but for its immortality; in short, they are, as *St. Paul* describes heaven, *What Eye hath not seen, and Ear hath not heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive.*" Here I observed that he was extremely moved, the tears ran down his face, though his eyes were closed, and his sighs crowded upon one another, so fast as if they would almost stop his breath: I would seem to take notice of it, but went on in this manner. I trust, *Mr. Goswell*, that the God of mercy's will touch your heart, who is ever willing and pleased to receive the penitence of a reformed sinner; I will for my part, as it is my duty, offer my petitions to the Throne of Grace for you, and do you in the mean time meditate on the blackness of your crime, and resolve to hate and detest the thoughts of such for the future; had the Devil had his full will over you, your case, when you had changed life for immortality, would have been like the unhappy man, who came to the King's Son's wedding in the Parable without a wedding Garment, *You would be cast into utter darkness, where there would be weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth, and nothing else.* Christ desires, and commands us to be always ready to receive the Bridegroom with our Lamps trimmed and in readiness, and not to be neglectful like the foolish Virgins, but we must

not presume to force into the Bride-Chamber till we are called and admitted by the Bridegroom ; that is, we should spend life in such a manner as if we every day expected death, which comes like a thief in the night ; but then we must not dare, if we should find it a burden, to shake it off till we are relieved by the regular commands of God. For another human instance, Mr. *Goswell*, let us suppose the King of *England* seated on this Throne, with his Peers and Counsellors debating about and settling the affairs of the nation, commanding the Guards to suffer nobody to interrupt them ; now if, at that time, any man urged on by curiosity, desperation, or any other cause, should suddenly rush into the presence of the King unseen, and unpursued by the Guards, and should disturb the Assembly which was directly opposite to the Prince's command, what do you, or any body suppose would be the consequence of such an action ? Would he not be put forth from the Royal presence, thrown into a Goal, and delivered up to the Executioner for punishment equal to his crime ? He certainly would. Then, if an earthly Monarch shall be so incensed to have rash, ignorant, or perverse people, who force into his retirements to disturb him punished with many stripes, what must the indignation of the Kings of Kings be, to see himself boldly disobeyed, his Councils attempted to be laid open, and his Statues trampled on and broken ? Great indeed, and terrible, burning like the Furnace of *Nebuchadnezzar*, with a ten-fold heat and fury.

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pestilence, and famine, that sweep away whole nations, do not here appear so dreadful to the Worshipper as sudden battles that destroy armies, murders that affect the private single person, or that much more to be feared and unexpected death ; though indeed often in murders the crime is committed by one blow, which sends the sufferers in a moment to eternity ; but here is still a remaining hope, for we trust that by the mercy of God, that earthly miseries and punishments lighten the burden of our sins, if borne with resignation, and recommend us to the mercy of our Creator ; but in a self-murder all hope directly ceases, because we knew the Master's Will, and did not obey it.

His passion had now gotten to such a height, that he heav'd and panted as in the agonies of death ; his tears were redoubled, he grasp'd my hand with violence, and looked on me with a wild earnestness, though he was quite unable to speak. At length, after some time, he burst out with an uncommon loudness, into these words : " Oh good man, good man ! God has sent you to me as an angel to open my eyes, but they are to see nothing but destruction and perdition, which I must inevitably fall into ; you shew me plainly I must be damned, for so cursed a reprobate sinner cannot hope for salvation : Were I to live an hundred years, and spent all in repentance and prayer, I fear I could not hope to see my Saviour any other, but with horror, dismay, and confusion : This sin is great, beyond hope, but I have ten thousand millions
more

more of a deep dye to answer; cursed be they that led me astray with false notions of God; cursed was that hour in which I heard them, and the ears at which the damning words entered; and oh poor blinded perverse heart of mine, why did you incline me to hold society with those who sought my eternal destruction, in which they must share with me; but that alas! is but a poor consolation to one self-condemned, and living in a dreadful expectation of being called to the great Tribunal, and receiving the sentence never to be reversed of eternal flames, tortures, and anguish." Here his voice failed, and his tears were increased to the shocking of his whole frame; I was so very strongly moved that I could not help joining with him in weeping, but quickly recovering myself, I said, My friend, and brother *Goswell*, I rejoice that heaven has visited you and touched your heart: these tears, and this righteous anguish of heart are true and never-failing signs of a right disposition to repentance; you have no more to do than heartily to detest and hate the actions of your pass'd life, which were sinful, but particularly this attempt upon yourself; steadfastly resolve to lead a new life, and be in love and charity with all the world; you will quickly feel the goodness of God working upon you, and making you a new man; if you will shun the first promoters of vice, idleness, and strong liquors to excess, you will find your heart opened and yearning to God, which will by that means be fill'd with

with his grace to your comfort here, and your everlasting joy, triumph, and happiness hereafter.

I was now departing, when he begg'd me to pray with him once more, which I did with joy and tenderness, and he joined with the strongest devotion; which done, I left him, with a promise of a speedy return, in a most glorious and godly frame and harmony of mind.

I surprized and rejoiced Mr. *Carter* when I came home with the relation of Mr. *Goswell's* so sudden, and in all appearance, sincere repentance: All dinner-time he was the subject of our discourse; and at last my friend told me, he was under the greatest impatience to see him; but I fearing that company might confuse or disturb him in his great work of reformation, desired that one of the footmen might be sent to inquire of his health, and at the same time to ask if a visit from his master would be agreeable. The messenger was sent, and returned with this answer, That next to his companion's company, meaning me, there was no man's in the country, that he desired more than his; for now all good men were to him the chief and only comforts. When the heat was over we went, and, in our way, called upon Mr. *Mason*, who was agreeably surprized to hear of what he least expected.—But, says he, my brother *Walcot* was well cut out for a Missionary, for there is not a Heathen *Indian* in *America*, when I would not some weeks ago rather undertake to convert than my neighbour *Goswell*. When we came to the

the house, we were informed that he had just waked very much refreshed from the best natural sleep he had had since his taking the *Laudanum*, and that, before he lay down, he took some little comfortable nourishment with readiness, which before he used to refuse, seemed a quite different man, and was impatient for our coming to him; all these I looked upon as very good signs. When we got into his bed-chamber, we found him calm and composed, and in a kind of serious chearfulness. As soon as he saw us, he said, "How much, dear Sir, am I obliged to you for bringing these good men to me, and for the sweet balm and comfort you administered to my poor tortured soul? but God will reward you, I trust; my horrors are gone, and now I begin to hope, which you must confirm, and lead me thro' the dark path of my own conscience, till heaven shall please to pour in its light upon it. It was, *Gentlemen*, a most wicked attempt, and enough to damn me eternally, without the mediation of our Saviour Jesus Christ." "Sir, said I, you seem so thoroughly sensible of your fault, that you need never be spoken to on that subject again. Persist in a course of penitence, and determine and prosecute a reformation, and be assured that you will find the blessing of the Lord of Hosts attending you in all your ways. But, Mr. Goswell, you are under the strongest obligations of giving praise and thanks to the Almighty, that he did so mercifully interpose his Grace, as not to suffer you to fall in the vile design; but has allotted you sufficient time to consider of what
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you have done, and what the wretched consequences must be; for though it may seem to you that your ignorance of the power of drugs was the reason that you over-dos'd yourself, yet there was also the invisible and dispensing hand of divine providence, to risk you from the jaws of temporal and eternal death, for as a single sparrow falls not to the ground, without the permission of the father, is it not just to suppose his guard and guidance is more strongly employed about his favourite creature Man, whom he formed in his own image, and is scripturally expressed as worth many sparrows? To men given up to their lusts and appetites, I know the duties of christianity seem hard and burdensome, and a sort of bondage; but when practised by a truly converted heart for some time, they will be found to answer exactly *Jesus's* description of them, *My yoke is easy, and my burden is light.* Therefore praise our God daily in private devotion, frequent his house as often as you have an opportunity, and the habit will grow upon you, and become a delight and comfort to you. Though I am your pastor, *said Mr. Mason*, I leave you entirely to this young Gentleman, to whom God has given a great power of utterance, and a blessed turn of mind. Oh Sir, *replied Goswell*, he was sent to us for a public blessing, to be the instrument of happiness to himself and others; I will persist, my dear Reverend young Gentleman, (for then he did not know my name) in a course of thorough repentance and mortification, I will confess my crime, and give thanks

thanks to God in the midst of the congregation, as soon as I am fit to appear in the Church, in the mean time I will endeavour to make myself worthy of entering the house of God by my Devotion at home, in which, good Sir, I hope your assistance." "Mr. *Carter* said, I was informed that you were under some confusion to think of appearing in public to give thanks, and therefore, neighbour *Goswell*, I believe the Minister may say in general, that a person having received signal mercies from God, desires to return thanks with this congregation." "No, no, good Mr. *Carter*, said *Goswell*, that folly of shame is over with me, I would willingly expose myself as an offender, that I may make some compensation to the people of the Colony for the cursed example I shewed them. Who am I that I should not suffer for my fault? The mercy of heaven was beyond my desert in saving me from everlasting pangs, shall I then grudge to suffer a little temporal shame in return of such unmerited grace; and Mr. *Mason*, if you read next Sunday,—or, if you, dear Sir, do, I entreat that you will say at the time of thanksgiving, that *William Goswell* having missed of poisoning himself by the mercy of God, too great for such a reprobate, and now being convinced of, and penitent for his error, desires to give thanks to God, and begs the congregation not only to join him in them, but, in charity, to pray for his perfect conversion and reformation." We all dissuaded him from being so particular, which, with some difficulty, we effected, and then after prayers and some com-

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forting and improving discourse, we left him to meditation and rest.

As we were walking towards home, "Well," says Mr. *Carter*, Parson, what do you think of my doctrine of dispensation, that God brings the greatest and most good out of what appears to us the most horrible of all evils? Is not our poor friend an example of it, who had never thought of penitence if you had not awakened his conscience, and you had never spoken to him with so much fervour and earnestness if he had not committed that most dreadful act! There is a chain, though invisible to us, of all accidents which naturally hang link upon link, and destroy but one of the links, and the whole succession is stopped and destroyed." "Why Sir," says I, I have learned all my lifetime, since I could distinguish, to be of that opinion, but riper years and observation must finish the mind for such nice enquiries and inferences."

The *Sabbath* being come, my penitent appeared in the Church, with a true christian shame about him, and I think no person in the congregation was more devout and attentive to the word of God. In short, this man, from a most pestilential member of society, and an ill example to all his neighbours, became a person worthy of imitation, for his devotion, charity, and christian conduct, for indeed he put on the new man entirely, and, by a strict course of sobriety, his understanding was so much cleared and enlivened, that he was accounted, in a little time, a most dexterous transactor of business, and, in less than six years,

years, the case which urged him to desperation, poverty, was so far altered, that he was superior in wealth, (which he employed very well) to all the middling planters in the country, and inferior to very few of the greatest. Such blessings has God in store for those who truly are his servants; or if they abound not, they have the sweets of content which makes every state of life comfortable.

I have dwelled the longer upon this subject, because I conceive it to be of the greatest importance to the christian reader, and inasmuch as this horrid sin of self-murder, is too much the fashion amongst the weak and wicked of *England*, by my Narration I would endeavour to shew the blackness of his crime, and by my observations on it, I could wish to deter all that read this little Treatise, from the acting so desperately and sinfully, and enforce resistance and repentance in those who find themselves under temptations to do, what once done can never be recalled or repented of; and as my advice is given with sincerity, so, I beg of God, it may be taken and practised with humility and singleness of heart.

Our time now of leaving *Charles Town* was come, the briskness of trade being over, and most of the outward-bound ships freighted and sailed, and the violent heats approaching, which last cause made a retirement amongst the woods and shades necessary, the little freshness which the country affords at that time, being absolutely requisite to secure and continue health. Captain *Bird* had directed his course for the *Spanish* main, and proposed to

himself a trading voyage of no less than a year and half's length. These circumstances put all together, disposed Mr. *Carter* to prepare for his country house, so packing up all things necessary to be carried from town, (amongst which all my goods were not forgotten) we set out in the cool of the morning, and in about three hours easy driving in his chariot, through a road as level as *St. James's Park*, and vastly better shaded with trees, we arrived at his country seat. I will not say it was as grand as some of our Noblemen's seats in *England*; but the art was not employed, nature amply made amends; for it was situated in so sweet a mixture of woods and little springs, (the last of which are not very common in *Carolina*) and every thing carried an air of such neatness it appeared that industry had not been lulled to sleep by the richness and conveniency of the soil, but added its part to bless the possessor with abundance.

This delightful place furnished me with, what I was most fond of, retirement: My conversations also with Mr. *Carter* were more frequent, and of longer continuance than in town, and though there was a large neighbourhood, after they had paid their compliments to their friend on his return to the country, we were troubled with very few impertinent and unexpected visits, which generally throw a whole family into confusion. Mr. *Carter* was almost disengaged from all business, and I had little more to do than sometimes to study, and every day perform the office of a Chaplain in the family; this gave us both an opportunity

nity of rambling much in the woods, and taking all the innocent amusements that a country life could afford; but of them all there was none that pleased me so much as that of making unceremonious calls upon a Gentleman of our neighbourhood who was an excellent scholar, a tolerable Divine, and in most things a very accomplished man; his name was *Davis*, born a *Creolian*, but his father gave him the advantage of an *English* education, of which he made very good use, and had qualified himself for the study of any art or science which he should think proper to apply to.

The second *Sunday* after our arrival in the country, Mr. *Carter* sent his servants round to all the planters and others that were christians, desiring them, as the heats were excessive, that they should not trouble themselves with going to *Charles-Town* to church; for that he would have divine service performed in his house every Sabbath-day for the future. This invitation brought us a very great number of people, almost too many for our place of worship to hold; so that several were obliged to stand in the next rooms to join in the service of the church. The place allotted for this use was a large old back hall, which was free from the sun till after twelve, and could with ease and speed be kept cool by umbrellas, or ticken-screens stretched over the windows. Though we were a little stinted for room, yet it was an inconveniency that I was well pleased with; for that, I knew, could quickly be remedied; but still, I was more delighted to observe that the whole congregation

gregation were attentive and reverent during the time of the service. Mr. Carter was obliged to act as my clerk ; but it being observed by some of the Gentlemen, he was relieved of the whole trouble ; for when I gave out the psalm, the whole body of the people raised it at once, without expecting the formality of being led by a clerk. After the duty of the morning was over, Mr. Carter invited the whole congregation, without distinction, to dine with him. The better sort filled his large dining-room, where he waited on them himself ; and I had the great parlor crowded, where I represented my host, and did the honours of the house. The meaner people were taken care of by the butler and other servants, where every thing abounded within the pale of sobriety ; for Mr. Carter was, and I bless God, still is, the very spirit of liberality. After a regular and chearful meal, and a refreshing glass, about four we again met in the back hall, where I read prayers, but did not preach ; for it was Mr. Carter's desire, because some of the people had eight or ten miles home. When the evening service was over, he repeated his invitation to them, and insisted upon its being accepted. He certainly had the happiest art of making friends without any design, that ever fell to the share of man : His honest open heart appeared to be so plain and sincere in all his words and actions, that they must be of the most insensible, as well as the most brutal temper, who were not gained over to him. So sweet was his manner, that at their departure

ture he spoke freely to most of the lower people, whom he called familiarly by their names, and many of the indented servants, asking some of their healths, and others whose masters and mistresses were absent? And his sharp eyes would soon discern who were missing: Then ordering his servants to give each a draught of small punch, he retired to the gentry, whom he treated with coffee, tea, wine, &c. To those he made an apology for the smallness of the place of worship; but I doubt not, says he, but Mr. *Walcot* and I shall be able to contrive a place of more convenience for you quickly. The company all retired in decency and good order, wishing him a thousand blessings, and acknowledging his great and uncommon care for the good of all who were round him.

I found I know not what of pleasure in the duty of this day; and I now promised myself the happiness of being constantly employed in my function, for the comfort of others, and the eternal welfare of my own soul. Mr. *Carter* too appeared more than ordinarily delighted to see so many of his neighbours round him upon so laudable an occasion: And as we sat at supper, *Walcot*, says he, (for we used no ceremony in private, though in public he treated me with the utmost respect, which is true politeness among friends) I hope you are now in your element; I promised you a congregation, and here I have already performed my promise; but I also said I would find you a church; in this point I am still defective; but we will see about the house

house for some convenient place, which we shall be able to fit up at a moderate expence, and then to receive all our friends without crowding or trouble.

I who was acquainted by this time with the goodness of his heart, could not avoid being surprized at his going willingly into an expensive building for the accommodation of his neighbours ; for his hall was sufficiently large to serve his own family and many more. Sir, *said I*, you are willing and desirous, I see, to engross all the social virtues to yourself, and convince your acquaintance, that you do not live for your self alone, but have the general good at heart : I hope you will not be envied for this happy turn of mind, though every man should wish to have such ; but I am resolved to attempt coming in for a share with you ; for I have, I think, seen a place that will do ; and then I intend to set up a little school for the benefit and instruction of the neighbouring children, and those of the natives and *negroe slaves*, if they shall think proper to send me theirs ; for Youth, nay even the smallest degree above infancy, is the season to engraft good principles, and Godly and moral notions on the mind ; for that first impression is never to be blotted entirely out ; though alas ! it may for some time be obscured by the vanities, lusts, and appetites of a worldly licentious people.

Very well, Sir, *said my friend*, I am pleased that we are entered into a contention of this nature ; a contention that will spur us on to endeavour to do good in our generation, and glorify

glorify God in the state of life he has placed us : Let us then act with vigour in our different spheres ; and let this, dear *Walcot*, be the only contention which shall ever arise between us. But where, tell me, have you fixed upon a place for worship ? I long to know if you and I have jumped upon the same thought.— That, Sir, replied I, must be deferred till our walk in to-morrow-morning's cool, and then I shall know whether we have agreed upon it.

There stood, separated from the dwelling-house, and all the other offices, in a yard by itself, a large old strong building, no way out of repair but in the roof, which, as it had not been used for many years, was neglected, and of necessity much damaged. This was built, as I understood from the servants upon enquiry, by the grandfather of the late Mrs. *Carter*, and was a warehouse for rice, rum, and other commodities : but as it lay so far from the house, it was frequently robbed by Negroes or Natives ; and therefore when those within the walls, which now surround all the offices, were finished, that was entirely deserted and abandoned, and seldom was applied to any other use, but sometimes as a stable, or cart, or coach-house. It was 150 feet in the front, and the depth one third of the front ; the height was in proportion ; so that I have seen many country, and some town, churches, not so big. On this place I had fixed my eye long before Mr. *Carter* declared any intention of fitting up a Chapel of Ease ; but never would propose it to him on account of the cost the necessary repairs must come to, though at the

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same time I was acquainted with no man upon earth that knew the worth of money better, or could more wisely determine the use of it, and who valued it less; he made it only subservient to the necessary business of traffic, and the support of his family, except when he gratified his most favourite inclination in the disposing of it to the most beneficial and laudable commerce of charity; in which his heart knew no bounds. The next morning, after prayers, (which were always read to the family as soon as they rose, and before supper, in the great parlour) we walked out to the garden to enjoy the fresh and cool air of the morning; the old warehouse was in our view directly from the garden gate, when I told him, See, Mr. *Carter*, yonder house is the place I thought on, do you and I agree? I protest, says he, *Walcot*, we do; but that I have a scruple to make that the house of prayer which has been put to so many unworthy offices. I thought, Sir said I, you had laboured less under the prejudices of a nursery education, than to think any place more or less holy than it is made by the use it is put to. Was not the *Messiah*, our blessed Saviour, laid first in a manger, where he was found by the *Wise Men of the East*, who did not hesitate to pay their worship and offerings to him, though he had no other attendance but an Ass and an Ox, a poor carpenter, and an humble and lowly Virgin-Mother. Decency I delight in, and would have all places of worship clean and neat. No matter for what they were before, since they are become the meeting-places of the faithful: And surely,

Sir,

Sir, you and I both should rather chuse to offer up our devotions to God in the meanest places, than join in the fopperies and grandeur of a gilded *Turkish Mosque*. Why, ay, Parson, cries he, you have caught me, I confess: I did not very well weigh the thought; and indeed I confess it a mean and narrow conception. This may shew us how careful they should be who have the care of children, what notions they instil into them; for there are many prejudices early gotten, which we never lay down but with our lives. But as to the matter in hand, since we both have agreed upon the same place, tell me if you have any notion of architecture; for I don't suppose we have many here that have any refined notions of the beautifying an edifice? we build here only for use; and I am told, that my father-in-law, by the late Mrs. Carter, was the first person that ever ventured to exceed mere convenience in the erecting of a house; but that in *Charles Town* is his own plan, and I think it is done in a very good taste: He was, I am told, a very well accomplished Gentleman. But tell me, do you know any thing in the direction of workmen? Little, or nothing at all, I replied; but there will be no such great need for contrivance; if we can only bring it to be convenient, that will be sufficient.

The rest of our walk was spent in silence, for he seemed thoughtful. When after three or four turns in the grass-plot, he suddenly cries out, it shall be delayed no longer; come, let us go and survey it. And getting the start of me, by his very quick motion, he soon got

into the house ; and by the time I arrived at the garden gate, he was coming out with the keys : We examined it ; and it appeared to be no otherwise damaged than (as I said) in the roof. This he regarded as nothing ; the floor, he took notice of, was ruined, and required a new one. But, *says he*, I am not as yet fixed whether I shall make it of oak plank, or endeavour to get flags for it. As soon as we got into the house, we both retired to our studies ; for he had a very large and most elegantly chosen one, incumbered with no trash or rubbish, except a few of his father-in-law's collecting : But then, in his days, a true taste for books did not prevail ; because most Gentlemen did then, as many do now, buy volumes by hearsay, and the approbation of others, without giving their judgment the least trouble of considering, whether they were worthy of perusal or not, giving up their taste and judgment at once to the direction of some few men, whom the world is pleased to compliment with the title of great and understanding men. In my retirement, I had no notion of planning, or laying down any rules about repairs ; my thoughts were taken up with forming to myself a method of making the church a blessing to me and others : the catechising children, and even those of riper years, appeared to me as the first step to useful knowledge, and the destruction of impiety and ignorance. Besides, it occurred to me that the Chapel would be a fit place for my intended school, without taking any thing from the sanctity of the place. But Mr. Carter
was

was otherwise employed; for he was quite taken up with the mathematics; and when the bell rung for dinner, which I did not hear, he rapped at my study door, saying with uncommon eagerness, come, come man to dinner, 'tis done, puzzle your head no more about it. I came out and followed him; but he was so eager upon it, he could scarcely dine, but every now and then he was at it. As you shan't see the plan till it is perfected, says he, I'll make it hold seven hundred, ay, a thousand people, Sir; and the beautifying of it will not cost much.—What! shall we lay out thousands upon an house for our worthless selves, and grudge a little insignificant trifle to render decent the House of God! I have cedar and mahogany enough on my land; and for the rest, it is nothing.—I will have it done, cost what it will: I am greatly indebted to my God, ay, greatly, my dear *Walcot*, (the tears of joy and gratitude stood in his eyes) and I will endeavour to make some little return. I never observed his discourse so disjointed and wild before; but the scheme was grown a favourite with his honest christian heart, and he could not conceal it. I was silent most of dinner, which he took no notice of till the cloth was removed; and the servants having left bottles and glasses on the table, retired; then he renewed his discourse thus: By your silence, friend *James*, I fear you do not relish what I am about. Indeed, Sir, says I, I do; but I saw you so strangely taken up with it, that I thought it proper to let you speak all was in your mind. But have not as yet, said he, no, when

when I was in my study, I felt something I thought like a superior Being, telling me, that it was well that at last I began to do glory to that God which rescued me from my enemies, and raised me from misery to great abundance and riches. There is no body but he, who hears it from my own mouth, can conceive the many misfortunes I have been pressed with, the enemies I have had to encounter, and the surprizing mercies of God to me, whose almost visible hand rescued me from the brutal malice of some bad people, and made them the instruments of my happiness and ease in worldly circumstances, by persecuting me and forcing me to fly to *America*, for the peace of mind and affluence I could not find or be allowed at home." I observed him strongly moved, that his passions began to be all on the float, and I pittied and almost bewailed I knew not what. After a long pause, "*Walcot*, I will let you, says he, some time or other when I am fitter for such a task than now, into some of the most amazing accidents that ever happened to man; but, for the present, if you will, let us part; a little retirement will relieve me of the anguish my heart labours under." And so saying, he went towards the garden where he could have privacy enough to think and reflect upon the cause of his disquiet. I must own I was astonished to see a temper so suddenly changed; but I knew his good sense would soon rectify that, and so it gave me the less concern.

Towards evening I met him designedly, at a little Pavilion in a clump of trees in the wilderness.

derness. When he was quite calm, I perceived, by his eyes, that he had been a weeping, and he was not quite so chearful as usual. I would not enter into any discourse, which might renew it, and therefore we talked of such things as just occurred to us, till he observing my indifference. What, *says he*, have you forgot our building already?—Why, I intend, to-morrow, to send to *Charles Town* for all the tradesmen necessary; and, as soon as materials can be got ready, to proceed as quick as possible. This he did, and in a fortnight's time we had the place covered with carpenters, masons, sawyers, and all other people necessary about the building. While one party was busied about the roof, another was employed in plaistering and rough-casting the walls; others were putting the doors and windows into their proper places; carvers were at work in several of the offices; and, in short, no body was idle, not even I; for I had the employment of overseer of their labours: The building standing East and West, was of great conveniency; and in the Eastern wall they broke out a very large window, which, when finished, had all the marks of a good workman about it. Five months were this great number of men employed; and I think there could not be much less than a hundred of them, when the chapel, set aside some little ornaments, was almost ready for service. I should have observed, that when his design came to be known in the country, most of the planters desired they might be permitted to assist with slaves or timber, &c. but

but Mr. *Carter*, with the greatest good manners, gave them to understand, that as he was building upon his own estate, he could not find out how he had any right to hope for the assistance of any body, though every body was welcome to it when finished ; for by the same rule, the man who was of an hospitable spirit, and received his friends at his house with chearfulness, may as well hope for their contributions if he went about to build a new house. At last, they grew urgent with him on *Sunday* evening after prayers, to be suffered to disburden him of some of the expence ; on which he told them, in a cool but resolute tone, that he thanked them for their neighbourly intention ; but that if he was talked to any more on that head, he would, it was true, go on with the building, but then he should reserve it for the use of himself and his family, and let no person else have the least benefit of it. This silenced all farther solicitations on the subject ; for they knew, that though he was one of the best of men, he was also one of the most determined. To render all things complete as soon as possible, the carvers and other workmen were encouraged by Mr. *Carter* with money and liquor, and promises of an additional bounty for their industry. This had its effect, for they worked chearfully and closely ; so that every day they furnished the joiners with pillars, capitals, and other parts of their work ; and the inside promised very little delay. I had some workmen to look over, with whom I had a particular interest ; for in the laying out of the plan, twenty feet

feet were taken off at the West End, in which a chimney was built, and no small one, to give the people heat in the winter season, which I found to be sometimes more severe than in *England*. This large room was by a rising wainscot to be divided into two, on occasion; and each room had a fire-place. This place I proposed for my school, and therefore, by Mr. *Carter's* permission, I had a set of moveable benches and desks made; so that at half an hour's warning, I could clear the place for any business, and in the same time put it again into the form of a school-house.

At last the chapel was quite finished; and the inside was as neat, I think, as ever I saw any thing of the kind: Over the door in the East, which went into the vestry and school, and over these also on the North and South sides, were galleries of cedar, raised upon very well-wrought mahogany pillars; the side galleries reaching almost to the communion table, were not divided into pews, for the making the more room; but the seats were raised by degrees, in the manner of a scaffolding, about eight feet, with convenient passages left behind, and several openings for the people to go in without offending one another: the lower part was indeed distinguished into pews, and presented by the good founder to the several families, according to their number. The altar-piece was the full stretch of the workman's skill, and looked very well, it, the pulpit and reading desk being all of polished mahogany. But to make it still more perfect, Mr. *Carter* had fixed over the table in

the middle of the work, a fine *Italian* painting of the conversion of *St. Paul*, which added considerably to the whole. I will not pretend to say, but that there might have been many faults in the work, but taking it all together, it was a place that could not fail of giving awe and pleasure at first sight.

There was still one heavy difficulty lay upon us ; in the first place, the chapel wanted Consecration, in the second, I had no power to act in any particular parish as an Ecclesiastic. Mr. *Carter* and I made a journey on this account to *Kingston*, where having consulted Mr. *Mason*, he readily relieved us from both ; for a power of Consecrating Chapels and Churches raised, was lodged in any two resident clergymen by the Bishop's dispensation, he not being able to take a voyage to *America* upon all such occasions. And as to the second scruple, that was as soon removed by our good old friend ; for he immediately constituted me his Curate in the part of the country where he was resident ; which, (by the by, not to lessen the old Gentleman's compliment) was greatly to his own ease, because, as his Curate, I was obliged to perform all the duty of the place, among which, visiting the sick was no small article. Mr. *Mason*, with me as his assistant, proposed, by the desire of Mr. *Carter*, to perform the ceremony of consecration in a private manner ; and therefore as soon as we got home, he sent only to a few of his nearest acquaintance to be with him the *Friday* following on that solemn occasion ; but the news was whispered about, and the morn-

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ing of that *Friday*, the yard round the chapel, which was pretty large, was quite filled with people of all sorts and distinctions, an hour, at least, before the doors were opened. At ten the congregation met, and I believe Mr. *Carter* said true, when he declared he would make it hold a thousand; for I think that number was in it the first day it was opened; the ceremony of consecration was performed by Mr. *Mason*; and that done, I read prayers, which performed, after the psalm, I preached a short consecration-sermon, from those words, *Keep thy foot when thou comest into the house of the Lord*. Which done, the crowd was dismissed, and Mr. *Carter* detained only the friends he had invited.

At this time happened an accident of a most strange nature, which gave Mr. *Carter* the greatest pain, but was the means in the end of administering to him the most perfect pleasure. On *Saturday* morning after breakfast, we both went into the chapel while the servants were cleaning it and washing the flags, for he had it floored with them; when Mr. *Carter* looking at the desk, says to me, "Parson, the Clerk's place is very well made and extremely convenient, but one is wanting to fill it; tho' I think, I could provide one. I have among my indentured servants one *John Thompson*; he was bought with some others in my wife's life-time, by my Agent at *Charles Town*. At first sight of him I perceived, that though he was a lusty young man, he was quite unfit for any slavish work; for his hands appeared too fine ever to be employed in drudgery: I con-

ceived him to be some unhappy man, who by misery was reduced to do the wickedness which brought him to *America* ; and having compassion on him, and seeing he wrote an excellent hand, which convinced me that he understood accounts, I made him one of my inferior stewards ; so that his business is only to summon the slaves to their work ; to whom, I am told, he behaves with great tenderness and humanity, which has raised him much in my esteem, and to keep some little accounts of the produce arising from their labour.—I have heard him several times, when he has not thought me near him, in some of the groves, singing with a most clear and harmonious voice, no way short of several great performers in *England*, and that voice guided by a very masterly taste. I never, indeed, had the curiosity to talk to him upon the subject, or ask him if he played upon any instrument ; for I have observed that he avoids me as much as possible ; and when his business compels him to be near me, he speaks as little as he can, and always looks upon me with fear and confusion, though I never gave him any occasion to be fearful of me. I am told by the servants, for I have enquired, that all his hours of leisure are spent in retirement in a little chamber he has in the out-offices, with a few books he brought from *Europe* ; and that he stays no longer in the house than while he gets his meat, which he often carries to his chamber, and is never drunk, though he has much liquor under his care. He is now at the little plantation here at the back of the garden, seeing some ground

ground cleared ; I'll take a walk thither and send him to you, to whom propose the office of Clerk, and tell him I shall allow him some salary, and no longer look upon him as a slave : I would speak to him myself, but that I see he avoids me." He quickly left me, and I began to expect something from so very strange a character.

I went into the garden, leaving directions within, that when *Thompson* came, he should be sent to me into the Pavillion, where I sat about an hour and half, when I saw the man coming up the walk that faced the window, he knocked at the door in a trembling kind of diffidence, and opened it when I spoke, looking like a man going to be condemned. I bid him sit down, which he endeavoured to avoid ; but when I told him I had much to say to him, he placed himself at a distance from me, looking down with a mixture of fear, shame, confusion, and modesty ; I then told him what his master intended for him, shewed him the case of the Duty, and the favours his master designed for him, and that I had something in my head which would be of service to him ; his answers were short, though pertinent, and he kept his voice very low ; this made me examine his face with attention, and I thought I must have seen him some where before. He knew my thoughts, and that knowledge threw him into a violent trembling, which I concluded could not arise from any thing I said to him. I gave him time to recover himself, and then I asked him what countryman he was, and desired him to raise his voice, for that I heard him

him speak so low with difficulty; he answered, raising his voice a little, that he came from *Painfwick in Gloucestershire*. The voice struck me, and I thought I knew it.——“And what trade are you of, Mr. *Thompson*, said I?” he returned, “of the cloathing business.”——“Stay, stay, my friend, I have caught you, said I; you told your master at your coming, you were bred to no business, and now you are a clothier; your Face and voice I know, and I shall presently recollect you, and you will find it much more to your advantage to save me the trouble of thinking, and tell me honestly and at once, who you are; you may thereby make a friend that will be serviceable to you?” “I foresaw this, replied he, with a deep sigh, the moment my master ordered me to come to you. I am discovered! But, pray, Sir, does my master know me?” “No, replied I.” “Well then, says he, a few minutes of misery are delayed; but when he is acquainted with my name and family, I expect to have my slavery made beyond my bearing burthensome; for he will revenge upon me all the injuries my unhappy family have done him, and weigh me down to death with anguish and torture.” “You know him not, says I, he is not of a revengeful temper; perhaps this discovery may be the road to your freedom and happiness; depend upon me, that I will use all my interest with him for you, and I know his great spirit too well to suppose that he could be guilty of harbouring so mean a passion as revenge.” Then, Sir, said the slave, I knew you at *Oxford*;

ford; but as you conversed very little with such giddy creatures as I was; our acquaintance was accidental, and in mixed companies; my name is *Fillup*, of —— College.” — “Good God! cried I, bursting into tears, *Tom Fillup!* my countryman and neighbour!” The same answered he; he could proceed no farther. After some silence I ran to embrace him, he met me, and we wept together for some time: At last says I, “Prithee how can this discovery hurt you with Mr. *Cartter*, who is the most generous and compassionate man alive?” “Oh, Sir, says he, I know his character, and wish that I and my family had loved his many virtues as we should; but, alas! to injure and afflict him was the sole study of the family. — I am his *Cousin-german* by marriage, and was bred up to hate and despise him, which foolish principles I gave too much into; I never did him a personal injury, for that was not safe, for he has strong resentments about him; but I ever ridiculed and rendered him contemptible wherever I could; he heard once of me, and was greatly provoked; but it was my good fortune to avoid him till his passion was over. Hence, Sir, arises my fear; for as I was a professed enemy of his, what can I expect from him, now I am in his power, but punishment and reproach?” “If that, said I, is the end of your fears, let me be surety for you, body for body, that instead of injuries, you will meet with nothing but tenderness, compassion, and friendship; besides, you may be able to answer him some questions, which will be the cause of great quiet of mind to him;

him ; for, in spite of all the natural gaiety of his temper, I observe that he has hours of the deepest anxiety. But pray inform me by what unlucky chance you came here ; though it is not impossible from your Cousin's goodness, it may be the luckiest chance of all your life." " Sir, *said the slave*, you will add confusion and shame to my fears and apprehensions ; but as your behaviour is all that of the Friend and Gentleman, I shall hide nothing from, nor add the scandalous guilt of a lie to the crime for which I am justly enslaved, and for which, without the greatest intercession and interest, I must have paid my life.

" Some time after you left the university, where I lived for no other end but that it was the seat of gaiety and revelling, my father, by some unhappy conduct, that is the term I chuse to give it, though the world uses coarser words, had so far incurred the penalty of the law, that his real and personal estate was seized, his living sequestered, and these not answering his penalty, his person was seized ; and if he now lives, he languishes out his old age in a goal." This unhinged all my pleasures, for I was quickly acquainted with the desolation, so that the university was a place of no longer residence for me, my mother had no home, but was obliged to live with one of her sisters, so that I knew not where to go, for I knew the temper of my relations, that they were utter enemies to people in adversity, be their claims of blood never so near, and always ascribed misfortunes, though not of their own making, to their ill conduct and want

want of prudence, the sense of this put all thoughts of my own country out of my head. In this melancholy state, living upon my acquaintance, my credit being gone, I recollected that a very great man, then at court, had made my father, and even me, great offers of service, so as the last recourse I resolved to try him, and if disappointed, give myself up to my evil fate; but here was still a difficulty, though my dress was good and neat, and some of it a degree beyond it, I wanted money during my application; this I at last had the resolution to communicate to a young Gentleman of fortune of our house, who knew all my affairs and afflictions, and generously, upon my note, lent me forty pounds. With this I set out for *London*, and after two or three fruitless visits, I at last saw my great man, I need not inform him how our family was circumstanced, for he knew it too well, and after many compliments of condolence for our misfortunes, he assured me of his friendship, and recommended orders to me as a ready way to preferment; I told him I left myself entirely to his disposal, but observed that it might be some time before any thing of the kind could be procured; and I could wish he would allot me some small place for immediate and daily bread, for I made my circumstances, though bad, appear worse to him; he seemed much moved, though it was but seeming, and told me such things were not done in a moment, but that I might rest satisfied of all his interest, when a proper occasion should offer; and "Sir, says he, in the
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ruin of your father's fortune, I believe you saved nothing, don't be affronted if I offer you a small matter towards your support, till I can do for you." Upon which, drawing out his pocket-book, he put a twenty pound bank note into my hands ; and, after a few repetitions of his resolution to serve and prefer me, I left him, well contented to find my stock augmented. I attended at his levee regularly, at least twice a week for six months, but no news of the least preferment.—In the mean time I made an acquaintance at a coffee-house, with a very well dressed, genteel, polite young man, who led me to the gaming-table. Here I had for some time luck, and kept my purse free from my daily expences. And now I had been thirteen months in attendance ; at last I found I grew troublesome ; I was seldom admitted, and when admitted, had no opportunity of speaking to my patron, receiving only for my morning's servility, perhaps a nod, or a bow, or see me next week.—When one day, by his own appointment, I was introduced into his closet, I supposed all my cares at an end, and looked upon my fortune as made, but instead of that he told me, that there was such multitudes before me on his list, that it was impossible I could hold out till my turn came ; that he would advise me to go to sea in one of the King's ships, where, if I behaved well, he could have an opportunity of raising me in time to a commission ; and then he clapped ten guineas into my hand, and without any ceremony, rising from his chair, he led me to the door of his levee-chamber,

chamber, and left me to find the way out; and since I never saw him. I was in the greatest confusion and fury at this treatment; I had no recourse but to go to the tavern where my gaming companion resorted, and there I found him just going to dinner; he observed I was out of temper, but I told him no reason for it. After we had idled away the evening over a bottle, about the hour of prey we went to the gaming-house, where luck forsaking me, I was stripped of every penny. We returned to the tavern about one in the morning, and there I opened my heart to him, told him of my disappointed hopes, and the entire loss of my money. He made but light of both, answering only with a mysterious smile, "hang Courtiers, who would depend upon them any more than the dice, whoever does, they will be deceived; every brave man can make his own fortune, and I, for my part, despise the chance of the gaming-table as much as the cares of a Courtier. If I thought you could be trusted, and I think you a brave fellow, I would put some hundreds into your pocket in a few days; but I must know you better first." "Heated with wine, enraged and dejected at my disappointment, and though in liquor, shuddering at the instant approach of want, I uttered the most bitter imprecations, that I would not only keep his secret, but come into his measures. He told me, that there were three coaches setting out for the Northern road, richly laden, that would prove a prize indeed; that if I would join him and another Gentleman in the attack, I should find myself

before nine that morning worth a thousand pounds or more, and that with little trouble ; for he was sure there would be no resistance : the devil, wine, famine, and pride, all combining together, made me enter into the scheme ; but lest I should have any time to think, in a few minutes came his companion, who desired to speak with him in private, but he told him he might speak out, for that Gentleman, pointing to me, was to be of the party ; upon which he told him, it was time to remove to settle matters, and that he had a coach in waiting.—Supper at this strange hour was served up ; and about four o'clock we took coach and drove to a great inn in *White-chapel* ; here their horses stood : I was in a most strange way filled with resolution and horror, determined to commit the crime, and yet at the same instant abhorring and detesting it.—My companions went out, and in a minute or two the hostler brought me a pair of boots, a whip, and a close horseman's coat, wishing me a good airing. It was in the beginning of Spring, and just growing day-light, when my last acquaintance came in, and furnished me with a hanger and two cases of pistols loaden, to be disposed of in a conveniency on either side of the outside coat. He told me, he hoped, that if there was occasion, I would convince them that they had chosen a good man.—The words *good man*, shocked me, but the reflection was soon drowned in a bumper of brandy, and I began to lose all thought but of the villany we were about to commit.

We were quickly mounted, and posted on for *Epping Forest* ; between *Wanstead* and *Woodford* ;

Woodford, we waited for the coaches, concealed behind some trees; many passengers went by, which my newest acquaintance was for attacking, but the other opposed it, and seemed to me to have some command over him. At last the coaches appeared, and we, taking a little round, covered by a small rising ground, got upon the same road with them; and as we rid on, my old acquaintance told me it was a custom with them, when they admitted any green horn, as he expressed it, into their fraternity, it was his task, on the first onset, to order coaches or passengers to stand; and by that we knew how to judge of them, 'tis now your business, and I think you will perform with approbation. Whilst he spoke, the first coach came within a few yards of us, upon which, without replying, I drew a pistol, rode up to the first, and commanded the coachman to stop, or he was a dead man; he, instead of obeying, whipped the horses on, when I discharged my pistol into the fore horse's breast, which immediately dropped, and fired a second at him, though I missed my design. In the mean time my companions were rifling the passengers, from whom in money, bills, watches, and rings, they took above the value of three thousand pounds, and then crossing the country a little, we returned towards *London*, as if we had been bewitched or turned ideots. On the way they paid me several compliments upon my gallant conduct, swearing by the bitterest oaths, that a Gentleman twenty years in business could not have acted more prudently, than in shooting the horse, which they did not

not expect from me.——In such hair-brained discourse we road on, till we were alarmed by a noise behind us, which was nothing more or less than the *Hue and Cry* of the country raised upon us, as we afterwards found to our cost ; in a few minutes a large multitude of horsemen appeared in sight, on the view of which we set spurs to our cattle, and they being well fed, and of the best kind, we had certainly escaped, if a turnpike had not stopped us ; we called to have it opened, but nobody shewed themselves ; in this desperate condition, relying on my horse, I took a small run, and endeavoured to leap the gate ; but the beast not gathering up his hind feet well, was hung on the upper rail, and threw me upon the ground, stunned and almost senseless by the fall ; three or four lusty fellows rushed out of the house, first secured me, and then caught my horse, and my companions attempting to make their escape through the crowd with sword and pistol, were soon overpowered by the multitude, and made prisoners as well as me.

Thus, in the compass of a few hours, for want of grace, was I reduced from liberty to imprisonment, and from the hopes of life to a certain prospect of an ignominious death. The rabble took us back to *Stratford*, near *Bow*, and lodged us, well guarded, at the principal public house there, where liquor went round ; and even I, who was but a young offender, had lost all sense of my miserable condition. The justice at last being to be spoken with, we were examined, which continued but a short time ; the passengers swore to my companions, though

though they knew nothing of me, but the coachman did my business, making Affidavit, that I stopped the people and killed his horse; our *Mittimus* was made, and we were conducted by a party of armed men to *Chelmsford* goal, where we were immediately put into irons; here there was more eating and drinking, and I was still insensible of the wretchedness of my condition; but when, the next day, the fumes of liquor were dispersed by sleep, I felt ten thousand horrors. I had at the justices given in my name *John Thompson*, thinking thereby to screen my family from the disgrace that should fall upon them for my crime and death.

I knew not what to do, I could not think, confusion, dread, dismay, rendered me incapable of any settled or regular thought, but at last being roused by the quick approach of the Assizes, which came on in a few weeks, I at last wrote to my friend at *Oxford*, who helped me to *London*, and told him the whole affair in naked and simple truth, with the desperation and its cause which led me on to it, and intreated him to let my sister, whom he regarded very much, understand that we were never to meet but in a future state, but to conceal my shame from every body else. This eased my heart a little, and I set myself seriously to prepare for my wretched end; I had the assistance of a Clergyman, who calmed my mind very much, but never gave me the least hope of life. My unfortunate companions spent their time in thoughtless riot, though he could observe that my first acquaintance

acquaintance had his hours of anguish. To be short, we now in a very few days expected Judges and the Sentence of death together; two days before they came in, I was surpriz'd, when being called from my chamber to one who wanted me, to find it was my *Oxford* friend; he condoled my misfortune, and told me he came to save me, if the bulk of his fortune could do it, he gave me a pretty sum of money to be employed in my defence, and assured me I should not want lawyers, if they could be of service; indeed he acted like, what he afterwards became, my brother.

The dreadful day was come, we were arraigned, and put upon trial; we could make no defence, the matter was plain, and in a little time, the Jury, from a sense of our being old offenders, returned from their room, and declared us guilty. When my companions saw that all hope was lost, they generously declared to the Judges that I never was concerned with them but in that robbery; and they believed never before: but this availed nothing, sentence of death was pronounced on us all, and the day of execution appointed to be exactly a fortnight from that on which we received sentence. My heart sunk in me, I was unable to speak; and though my unfortunate mates pleaded hard for transportation, I uttered not one word for myself, but hung down my head as much afflicted with shame, as with the dreadful sentence of the law; this was observed by the whole court, which, as I was told, procured me their pity, but that was poor consolation.

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When we were brought back to the goal, I found my friend there, who endeavoured to comfort me, and assured me, that he would find means to have me favourably reported, and then he did not make any doubt of procuring my pardon; this had but little effect upon me, for I had almost forgotten the world, and had rambled far into eternity in my imagination, sometimes with hope, but oftener with despair. My spirits were quite low and faint, for I had taken no refreshment the whole day, so by the persuasion, and almost force of my friend, I eat a bit of fowl and drank a glass or two of wine; this done, my preserver left me ten guineas more, and bidding me hope, though it was late in the evening, took post directly for *London*, taking with him a letter which I wrote some days before to my Court-Patron, in which I told him of my afflicted state, and the reason that ran me into the cause of it, which was abandoning me after he had given me great reason to hope.

Now our confinement was close, and our indulgence less, though I must confess I had many little favours done me by the goaler, who was a grave sober man; for seeing me quite penitent, and calmly preparing for my dissolution, it moved his compassion, and he spent many hours with me, when my Clergyman was not with me, and often joined in prayer with us. I was sorry to hear that my fellow-sufferers were quite dissolute and abandoned, refusing all spiritual comfort, and in their cups, (for they had money enough) brag-

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ving death and despising the gallows, the good Clergyman laboured hard with them to no purpose, till their friends at *London* assured them there was no hope of pardon, and then they began to fear and have remorse ; but their minds were quite untuned for repentance. I received a letter in this time, giving me certain hopes of a pardon ; but I still continued to give myself up to death, our good Chaplain understanding from myself, that I went by a false name, would have me confess who I was ; but as I told him such a concealment injured no body, and that it was done to keep from the face of innocent people the blush which must arise from my fault and scandalous death ; when ever I should be remembered or spoken of, and save them from the reproaches which might be cast upon them by spiteful people for my disgrace ; this satisfied him, and he never urged me more upon that head. The time insensibly stole on without my seeing my friend or hearing more of him ; this grieved me a little, and at last I found I was within one day of eternity, and now I never expected to see him more ; this day I spent in the chiefest devotion and severe penitence, accompanied with floods of tears which helped to relieve my labouring heart ; I also took care of the disposal of my body, giving the Clergyman most of my money to see my corps decently and privately interred. I eat a little after I had received the Sacrament, and employed myself in private devotion till it grew duskish.

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At this time my good-natured goaler came into my chamber, and told me, *The post was come in, but no letters to you, I went on purpose; for I should be much rejoiced to see a Reprieve for you.* I thanked him for his kindness; but told him, I had given myself up to death, and hoped a blessed resurrection through Christ; the honest man wept, and the good Clergyman coming to me found us both in tears; we prayed together, and the Chaplain staid with me till twelve o'Clock, and then parted with me, blessing and praying for me, promising to return early to me. I went to bed and slept, but such sleep, such dreadful dreams, such horrors, sure no poor creature ever felt except he was in my condition; I waked entirely from these confused, unrefreshing slumbers about four, and found myself in a fever, as I believe most poor wretches are who are to suffer a violent death; I longed for light, yet dreaded its approach: I forgot all things except the sorrowful business of the next day; however I found spirits enough to pray, which I did most fervently, and then was overtaken by a sweet sleep, which continued till six, and would longer, but that I was awaked by the Clergyman to perform the proper service, and afterwards received the blessed Sacrament; and being very well composed, but extremely faint, I drank a large glass of mulled wine, which supported me a little, and gave me a few spirits; the stealing minutes went on, it was past eight, and the hour of going to execution was ten. Our irons were taken off, as the last part of the preparation for death and infamy, and my unhappy companions

and I were admitted into one room together, to pray for the last time, but at the gibbet. I observed more dread in them than I thought I had, but one extraordinary thing I noticed upon reflection, that we were all dressed more nicely than usual. Prayers being done, we comforted each other as well as we could, and then retired to private devotion in different corners of the room. At this juncture the master goaler opened the door, and told me one would speak to me for a minute, I followed him out, still meditating a prayer. In the parlour I found my friend, and a stranger with him ; he embraced me, and said, " You feared you should never see me, but take heart that business was done yesterday evening, and I took post the instant ; you are not to die, praised be God, look up, and hope for many happy years." I could make no answer, my stomach sickened immediately, my head swam, and I fell into a chair senseless ; they immediately barred my arm, and the person unknown to me, who was a Surgeon, bled me plentifully ; I recovered, but I was seized with a violent vomiting, and put to bed little less than half-expiring.

I was immediately seized with a fever, which held me fifteen days, the most of which time my life was in the utmost danger, but I had no feeling of it, being senseless above nine days ; when come a little to myself, my friend, who was, I found now, my brother, took all the measures he could to cheer and raise me up, using me with as much tenderness as if the same mother had born us, and protesting to

to me, that no considerations upon earth, but the serving and supporting me could keep him so long from my sister. Fresh air, good diet, and a tolerable calm of mind, befriended me so much, that in a few days I was recovered to a surprizing degree, when my brother, finding me fit to hear any thing, told me of the great difficulties he met with in getting a pardon, that money could never effect it, but that my letter to the Courtier touched him so nearly, he did not leave off solicitation till he had with much trouble procured it, time enough to be of use to me. I heard him with attention, and answer'd that the pardon could be of little comfort to me, since I could never shew my face again, that therefore I was resolved to go some where far from the danger of ever seeing any acquaintance. My brother looked earnestly at me in this part of my discourse, and cried, "Ay, *Tom*, I am glad you are of that mind, for now I shall the less shock you, when you must be informed that you are pardoned only upon condition of transportation for fourteen years: You are but young, and may live to be happy still in *England*. I'll tell you how it is to be, your friend at court has sent you by me 50 l. and I will give you 150 more, by which means you will be able to purchase your freedom abroad, and then provide for yourself; know also that you go in the first ship that sails to *America*." I was very well pleased with the proposal, hating now the thoughts of living in *England*; I received the money, had all my cloaths, and a good collection of books sent me; for my luggage was
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two large trunks, which I have now in my chamber; I then longed impatiently for a ship, when I was, to my great satisfaction, quickly ordered on board a ship for *Carolina*, my good goaler gave the master, from my hands, three guineas, to be kind to me in the passage, and for carrying my goods, informing him, that I intended to buy my freedom in a little time, and desired him for that end to get me a good master. All this the man honestly performed; for he made the voyage very easy to me, and made it his business, hearing that Mr. *Carter*, whose character then began to be known and respected, wanted an indentured servant, to sell me to his agent. The few days which I staid in *Charles Town*, I was quite delighted with the character of my master, for he had every body's good word, and I promised myself much happiness with him, which indeed I have had, if a constant dread of a discovery did not imbitter every benefit I received from him.

When I was brought hither by his agent, and presented to him, Good God! How was I stunn'd to see the man I had been taught to hate from my childhood, become my master; but I was stabbed to the heart with a sense of my thoughtless villainy, in aspersing a man who was now rendering me all offices of humanity; for coming one day to the fields, in which I worked a little time amongst the rest, with his Lady, and observing my incapacity for slavery, I heard him say, "My dear, this young man must have some other employment, for I perceive he is unfit for drudgery,"
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so ordering me to get behind the chariot, I went home and gave him a specimen of my writing and accounts, he put me into the employment I now exercise. I received almost daily favours from him and his Lady, during her life; and I thought I should wear out the time of my banishment happy and undiscovered; but as soon as I saw you come hither with him, I foresaw what would happen. And now, dear Sir, I have told you my sorrowful tale, I beg you will befriend me with Mr. *Carter*, and do not discover me till you have prepared him to forgive my indiscretions and follies.

Mr. *Fillup*, said I, I promised you before to stand in the gap for you, though I am assured there will be little or no need for any intreaty upon your account; I expect it will be the cause of making you happy, that you have fallen into his hands, for there lives not a man of a more humane and sweet disposition, or of a more christian-like and generous heart. Your melancholy story has moved me very much, and I dare affirm it will have the same effect upon him whose bowels melt at the distresses of the most remote from him; how then must he be touched for you on account of your near alliance to him. Go into the house, and shew no concern, and wait till I send for you, and rest satisfied that it will not be till I have raised you up a most cordial friend out of your dreaded and apprehended enemy. Saying thus, we walked to the house, and he retired to the servants, while I was reflecting, as I walked in the dining-

dining-room expecting my companion, on the uncertainty of human happiness, and the strange dispensations that take it away, and then as unaccountably restore it.

In the midst of my reflections I heard his step on the stairs, for it was remarkable both for the softness and quickness of it ; he entered the room with an uncommon vivacity in his looks, humming a piece of a tune. Come, come, says he, Parson, dinner stays for us, I have not had such a stomach I don't know when ; the little sharp breezes in the shade of the pines are rare whetters. I am glad, says I, to see you so cheerful. Why, says he, I don't know how, a little airing does me a great deal of service, but you will see me more cheerful, for I intend that you and I spend the evening in music, and if you and your clerk have agreed, perhaps his *Half-Reverence* will contribute to our amusement. Dinner was no sooner over, than he said, Well *Walcot*, how do you and *Thompson* agree ? Let me know before I sit down to the instrument. Why truly very well, and what do you think of him ? Why, Sir, said I, I think he is a very ingenious man, and have many reasons to believe, that he is some unfortunate Gentleman, and I do suspect that the cause of his avoiding you is for fear he should be known to you. Why, what should he fear me for, replies Mr. *Carter*, I should neither injure nor betray him, I should rather chuse to do him, or any body else, a good turn rather than an evil one. But suppose, said I, he had done you some injury in *England* perhaps, and

and that now he may dread you, being in your power; I only suppose it. Then I suppose, replies my friend, he does not know me; for the greatest enemy I ever had, I have heartily pardoned, and would do him or his any service that lay in my power. Pray, Sir, says I, let me ask you a curious whimsical question that is just come into my head, Have you any relations in *Worcestershire*? Aye, says he, the nearest upon earth; but pray, says I, Were you not related to the family of the *Fillup's*, I mean the Clergyman? Yes, yes, says he, it was he and his gang that sent me to *Carolina*, and I think myself obliged to them for making my fortune; but why, says he, do you ask these strange questions? Because, said I, I have this day conversed with the son of that Parson, who is, I know, in the capacity of a slave, and hopes your forgiveness and assistance.—What, what, says he, *Tom Fillup*, can it be? You dream sure, what put this into your head, *Walcot*? Why would you, says he, with a more than usual earnestness rouse up a thousand thoughts I had stifled for ever? Yes, I do forgive the whole family, and for this unhappy youth I will take care of him; whose is he? I'll purchase his time before I sleep; he is the relation of her I loved more than life; as for his father's treatment of me, it was designed by Heaven that he should be the agent and maker of my fortune. I am glad says I, to see you so well inclined to the poor youth, whose only crime to you is being the son of such parents; but I see you are hasty, and too eager, promise to hear me out, and

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then leave the rest to my conduct, and I will satisfy you of all. Then I promise it, replied he, and put on an air of attention, when thus I proceeded. You need not lay out money at present for his time, that you have done already, for this same kinsman has been with you these four years as your servant; in short, Sir, *John Thompson* is no other than *Thomas Fillup*, I know the young man myself, and had some little acquaintance with him in the University, and I doubt not, but upon strict observation, you will yourself recollect him. Aye, I shall, I shall, let him be called, says he. Hold, said I, a little, Sir, remember our agreement, it is necessary that I speak a good deal to you first concerning him, to save you both much confusion and perplexity. I shall tell you his story with all simplicity, and as near to his own method as I can, and then you will be able to determine whether he is fit for your observation and protection or not. Be his faults what they will, replied he, his suffering is a sufficient punishment for them, my duty is, not to make his burden more heavy, but lighten it, comfort him, and remove the evils that lie upon him, let me hear quickly what brought him into the wretched condition I met him. I here told him distinctly his whole tale, the ruin of the family, his temptation, crime, and punishment, but added, I perceived that all these things so ungracious to the sight and understanding, were sanctified to him, and that by them he was grown a wiser and a better man. While I was speaking, my friend was in the utmost agitation, he was silent a long

long time, at last raising his eyes to Heaven, he cried out, *O God! how wonderful are thy ways, they are past finding out.* Could I think, when in the anguish of my heart, I wickedly cursed my persecutors, and wished them the same evils they would lay on me, that those wishes should have their effect in so few years!

But quickly let us see this teller of wonders, I observed that his temper was strongly moved by the several changes of his colour, which came and went every moment, therefore I delayed not to procure him immediate satisfaction, and instantly called in Mr. *Fillup*. The sight of him put his spirits into a still greater hurry, so that fearing some bad consequence from his confusion, I almost forced a glass of wine down his throat. Good God! says he, is it possible that all these miraculous things should be brought to pass, my most inveterate enemy and persecutor's favourite son is my *Bond Slave*; the destruction intended for me is fallen upon himself. When he destroyed my goods and settlement, carrying home what he liked, and selling the rest as he pleased, did he once think that I should live to be able to forgive him; nay, that I would take the most severe revenge on him, by doing all the good in my power to him and his. But come, says he, kinsman, I rejoice I have it in my power to rescue you from misery and servitude, you are as free as I am, and I will assist you as far as my circumstances will permit. Sir, replied the young man, you was born to triumph over our family, and shew us by your own example

what our defects were. I dreaded your revenge, and now I am happy in your favour. You need not, said Mr. *Carter*, have feared revenge in me, it is not in my nature to continue any aversion long, but I remembered, that in the anguish and bitterness of my heart, when your father and mother were tearing my house to pieces, I wished that the miseries which they loaded me and my family with, might be returned to them, and that my spoil might be a canker-worm in their own effects. And such it was replied the youth, for from the time they forced you out of the country by tricks and mean stratagems, every day brought some misfortune, till the measure was filled by absolute and general ruin. I rejoice not in their afflictions, said Mr. *Carter*, but I have a question to ask you, which you must answer, though I dread to propose it, or hear it resolved; can't you guess what it is? What should concern me most nearly? But, in a word, though I may be shocked beyond my strength with your reply, it must be demanded, what is become of my eldest son; for I heard of the death of my infant at *London*? Oh, Sir, replied his kinsman, here you call up my shame afresh, here I must blush again for the barbarity of my parents; they pretended to all they conversed with, that nothing but your stay in the country after my cousin's death, hindered them from doing very well by the children, but about a month after you was gone, a consultation was held by those who shared in the spoil of your fortune, and it was resolved, to prevent farther expence, to put the

the child to some mean handicraft trade, not considering the tenderness of his years, constitution, and education. This had been immediately put into practice, if your intimate and reverend friend Mr. *Villiager*, who kept a strict eye upon their conduct, had not now been convinced that all their treatment of you had as much avarice as malice in it, and therefore he took the child to himself, resolving to give him, as he often declared, an education becoming his birth, and keep him as his own till he should hear of you. It is very surprising, replied my friend, that he has not heard of me, for I have written more than half a dozen letters to him, but they might be lost: I must contrive to hear of my boy; why he must be grown a fine youth by this time.—Alas! it is a long time since I saw thee, my child, and here nature so far over-powered the good-man, that he was all in tears, and a profound silence reigned on our side; I would not say any thing to him till the first gush of sorrow was over, for that method of condoling or advising rather heightens and inflames, than any way relieves grief, which now bore heavily on him, and seemed to me downright outrages. I endeavoured to comfort him, but to no purpose, he, with all the good manners and address he was master of, begged to be suffered to proceed as he pleased, nay as nature in spite of him bore him away, and that he might have the privilege of being alone some time, or till he should signify to us his desire of company.

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We left him and his kinsman, and I spent the evening in my little retirement in the garden. When it was time for family prayer, I went in; but how was I struck, when upon inquiring for my good friend, whom before I never missed from this duty, I was told he went very ill to bed. I do not know but I might be now in some haste to have done with the evening service, which performed, I hastened to his bed-chamber, and found his house-keeper, Mrs. Warren, his late wife's kinswoman, in tears; I spoke to him, but he took little notice of me; and then feeling his pulse, I found, to my apprehension, that he had a double fever on him, one of the spirits, and another of the nerves. This frightened me to the last degree, and I immediately sent for Mr. Davis, of whom I spoke before, who had studied physic, and he confirmed me in my fears for my so much-loved and valued companion. Never was there a more afflicted family and neighbourhood, his servants looked upon him as a father, and his acquaintance and friends found in him always the love and tenderness of a brother. His disorder got head every moment, and by the time a physician was brought from *Charles Town*, he was quite delirious, or raving; the Doctor gave us but very little hope, and I began to endeavour to resign him to that God to whom he was going, and whom, I may boldly say, he worshipped both in spirit and truth: Amongst the afflicted, there was none seemed more thoroughly touched to the heart than Mr. Fillup; he was constantly in tears and prayers for him,

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and expressed a most lively sense of his dread of losing so valuable a relation. Every thing was against him, the weather was excessively hot and sultry, and though he was blooded so much as to weaken him very considerably, yet still he was too full of blood, though it was dangerous to take more from him. All the seventeenth day of his sickness he had his senses in a very calm and undisturbed manner, at which time he made his will, leaving large legacies to his friends and servants, and his estate to his son, which exceeded 3000 l. a year, making me and Mr. *Villiager* executors and guardians to the youth. He endeavoured to cheer his weeping friends, assuring them that the thoughts of death gave him not the least pang, and that he had, through the merits of Christ, the strongest hopes of everlasting happiness, and then desired that we would pray with him, which done, he desired I would give him the sacrament the next morning. This night was a most restless one, and I feared it was the last; for he fell into the most furious ravings, and cried out for help against some villains who were going to murder him, and giving a sudden and violent start out of his bed, through his weakness, he fell with his nose against one of the bed-posts, which threw him into so plentiful a bleeding at the nose, that it could not be stopt by any means, till he had discharged so great a quantity, as I concluded he must die immediately. But how blind is man, how little extent and certainty has his art; what could not be effected by skill and the help of physic, was brought

brought to pass by accident, though I look upon it, and ever shall, as a dispensation of the most high. When he had lost an unconceivable quantity of blood, it stopt of itself, and he being refreshed by a little cordial, fell into a sweet and natural sleep, in which he continued many hours, and waked very much refreshed, and quite free from his disorder.

From hence I was taught never to despair of the signal mercies of God to his faithful servants ; for though he may try them as gold is tried in the fire, by afflictions and sickness, yet if they are intended to be his instruments for the executing his glorious purposes, he miraculously delivers them *from the Pestilence of the day, and the arrow that flieth by night*. This was the case of that very good man ; the Lord had reserved him for his agent in great affairs, and only let him feel his fatherly hand, to correct in him the indulgence and fostering of passions, and put him into a true method of being able to say, without offending the divinity, *Thy will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven*. I cannot here forbear to recommend to the reader the consideration of this Gentleman's case, he was a most upright, devout, and charitable christian, endowed with virtues more than common, and free from a multitude of vices, weakneses, and failings, to which other men are subject, and yet in the point of trial he failed, and was found weak, and this arose from nothing else, but the suffering a sudden and inordinate grief which possessed him, on the reflection of his affairs in *England*, to overbear, and get the mastery of him, which
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first brought him to a bed of sickness, and then almost to the jaws of death. It were a most useful consideration, if men would use it, when afflictions fall upon them in any of the shapes of poverty, sickness, loss of beloved friends, or any other trial that most affects human nature, to examine their consciences, and honestly inquire if they do not deserve worse; for when they have done all, and perhaps they have neglected all, they are but unworthy servants, and what can the unworthy expect, but to be treated with stripes and corrections. But yet in the deepest misery there is one most comfortable thought, which is, that the Almighty corrects and *chastens those whom he will receive*, and shews them the road to amendment by chastisement; while, on the other hand, he leaves the reprobate, who have cast off all dependance upon him, and spurned at his Grace and goodness, to their own evil and broad way, which leads to destruction, inevitable, dreadful, and eternal.

As his sickness was sudden and violent, so his recovery was very slow and gradual, for it was a full month from the departure of the fever, before he was able to appear in his own chapel to return thanks for the mercy he had received, in being raised from the bed of sickness, and almost death. It was no small pleasure to me to observe the general joy that sat on every face at his entrance, and the devotion and spirit with which the whole congregation joined in the thanksgiving. My time now was entirely employed in attending him in his airings, and endeavouring to make him

as chearful as I could, for the return of a perfect state of health was declared by the physician to depend upon the quiet and composure of his mind. This made me take notice, with grief, of many dejections of spirit I saw him suffer, and my uneasiness was the greater, when the sincere good man solemnly told me, that they fell upon him without any preparation, and that they were the natural effects of his constitution; for, says he, though I appear in public with much gaiety, yet I have in retirement many hours of melancholy and uneasiness. I must tell you at some opportunity the original cause, and though I blame myself for such failing, yet I have not the power to overcome it; however, my letting you into the very depth and recesses of my heart, I may, in some measure, be eased of my burden, by your bearing a part in it, and by freely venting my grief to you when it oppresses me. I have not now spirits to go through with a tale, which though for my own ease and yours I shall shorten as much as possible, yet would take up too great a quantity of strength to utter, for me to be able to spend at present. But tell me, Parson, continued my friend, have you any faith in dreams, if so, I can tell you a very odd and whimsical one I had concerning you this morning. Truly, replied I, they are things on which I never laid any great stress, and therefore think little or nothing about them; I look upon them but as the farces of the brain, and often as the wild fallies of a disturbed imagination. But come, let's hear this odd whimsical one of yours, it will

will amuse a little of our time, and perhaps help us to a laugh. Why, said he, I thought you and I were in the Grove Pavillion at the lower end of the garden, where we spend our time in the heat since I have been sick, and that a servant came to tell me that Capt. *Bird* was come from his voyage, and was so earnest to see us both, that he followed the man, not staying for his return with our answer. That he suddenly appeared at the door, and taking little or no notice of me, he addressed himself to you, telling you he had brought you a present, and immediately takes out of a basket that hung on his arm, a male infant, of which you seemed extremely fond, which made me even in my sleep suspect that your Reverence was something a-kin to it, for you nursed him, and cherished, and stroked him, when, to my great surprize, in a moment it grew to the size of a man, and discoursed with us as reasonably as any man could. This astonished me, and while I was endeavouring to account for it, the disturbance of my mind waked me out of my sleep. Well, what doth this import, Parson, can you interpret it? Why, truly Sir, said I, I think it imports just as much as all such things do, which is a mere nothing; for I do not think I shall bring any children to your house, if that is the waggish meaning you would pick out of it, but I rejoice to see you so chearful. Is it not strange? This very thing which I took for the play vagary of the mind, had in it a deep meaning, which was verified in a very few days, to my great astonishment; but however, I shall not from hence conclude

how much solidity or vanity there may be in dreams, though sometimes strange resemblances rise up in waking life, of those things which were raised up to the fancy of the sleeper. For this dream seems to be the prognostick to me, of the most important part of my life, as I shall shortly relate.

My dear friend's strength and vigour returning, we made our airings longer and more frequent; we sometimes visited the plantations, from whence we never came without strong proofs of Mr. *Fillup's* care and regard for his kinsman's affairs, every thing going on prosperously: one day when he had taken a greater jaunt than usual, and that our discourse turned upon the vanity and sinfulness of resisting the dispensations of God by repining at them, or taking things to heart which often destroy our health and constitution, which if properly submitted to, would prove blessings both temporal and eternal; and farther, how little right any human creature had to hope for an uninterrupted tranquility in the course of life. Mr. *Carter* fixing his eyes on me with an unusual earnestness, and ordering the chariot to drive slow that he might be the better heard, Mr. *Walcot*, says he, I am under the greatest obligations to you, that you have taken this christian and Gentleman-like way to shew me my wickedness, and warn me of my crime and danger; you have not, indeed, mentioned my name, but in your description of a sinner repining at the visitations of Heaven, and giving himself up to a stubborn grief for what is irrevocable, except the Almighty should, to
humour

humour his folly, perform a miracle and raise the dead; I found my own picture so strongly painted, every feature so full and lively, that no name needed to be written at the bottom: Yes, yes, I confess, Mr. *Walcot*, I have erred, greatly erred, and all the portion of grace which God has been pleased to confer on me has not been sufficient to get me over this dreadful stumbling block.—I was always obliged to hide the cause of my grief when poor, that I might not be laughed at, and when it pleased God to raise me to the present height, I had no body to whom I could open my heart, and from whom I might perhaps receive comfort as well as advice: it is all reserved for you; I doubt not but God has sent you to me to make life more agreeable as well as better spent, and with the greater safety to my conscience: this day shall be all our own without interruption, and therefore we will dine in the Grove Pavillion, where no body, by my order, shall break in upon us. Hereupon he gave command to a servant that rode to hasten home, and order dinner to be served in the Pavillion, while we drove slowly on.

All the time of dinner I observed my friend to be quite impatient; his mind was full, and he wanted to disburden it. At last the servants retired, after leaving what was necessary, and then he seized the opportunity of bringing forth what lay so heavy upon his heart. “I shall now, says he, friend *Walcot*, satisfy you and myself by giving you a sketch, of my life, for I call it but a sketch, because I shall contract it as much as possible,

fible, without leaving out any material circumstances ; by hearing this you will be a judge how to apply medicine to my mind, and also observe many most glorious interpositions of the hand of God, to rescue me from the power of my enemies, and those almost miraculous, as happening when no relief could be hoped for. You will also be the better able to conceive whether I have born the many and cruel injuries I have met with like a christian ; and you will find that my moderation in this abundance, which it hath pleased God to bless me with, may not, in some measure, be owing to my sometimes looking back upon the past misery of my circumstances.

I am the fourth and youngest son of a Gentleman of an antient family, and very small fortune, the paternal estate not much exceeding four hundred pounds per ann. yet out of this very little matter my father, by his excellent œconomy and management, made a shift to educate his sons at the University, and give his two daughters the advantage of a boarding-school. I, though the youngest, had the superiority in point of education, by the favour of a very rich Uncle, who being childless, and taking a fancy to me, bred me up, from the time I entered the College, mostly at his own expence. As he was himself a Lawyer, he was fond of having me bred to that study, and my father as vehemently languished to see me in the pulpit, and I, on my part, thought of nothing but the reading of physick ; however the richest prevailed, and when I had taken a master of arts degree, I was entered in
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the Temple, where I confess I did little else but idle away my time in a kind of inoffensive indolence; but considering that my Uncle's leaving me a fortune was uncertain, and that some way of life was to be sought after, I had art enough to prevail upon the Old Gentleman to permit me to go to *France*, under the pretence of studying the civil law, and observing the manners and forms of their courts of Parliament. He was as willing as I, and now concluded me a Lawyer to all intents and purposes; but instead of law, I applied myself to Anatomy and the Study of Physic, such as it is in their way, and in the time made several excursions, as my circumstances would allow, to most of the great cities in *France*, and at last to *Padua* in *Italy*, where I got some regular notion of physic; but unhappy for me, my Uncle died, and left me but a trifle to my expectations, which was but a thousand pounds, the rest being given to a relation who was of his own name, and in the same degree of kindred as I was, for I was but his Neice's son. I went to *Leyden*, and after spending my time and money very foolishly, I returned to *England* without taking a doctor's degree, and found myself, when I came home, scarcely worth five hundred pounds, and nothing to be expected from my father, who, by the scantiness of his fortune, the expence of our education, and the number of his children, all then alive, could do nothing for me. I set up the practice of physic, but our country abounding with old practitioners, the project fell to the ground, and I was as much to seek for a way
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of life as if I had never applied myself to any study.

This uncertain state of life gave me an heedless method of thinking and acting, so that I seldom examined any thing that I was to undertake with necessary caution ; I went from town to town, spending the little remains of my fortune in a very trifling manner, hoping to settle somewhere. I made acquaintance with all the men of learning that I met, but this had no other effect, but that they all declared I was an excellent scholar, and for ought they knew a very good physician ; but any country apothecary would be sooner employed by them, because they knew his father. In these jaunts I saw my first wife, this young man's kinswoman, who was at that time but seventeen years old ; her beauty was extraordinary, and such as I thought I never saw before, but her mind far exceeded her person ; for she had the most extensive and penetrating genius that ever fell under my observation, fit for any study, and ready for every improvement ; we grew insensibly familiar without our knowing how, and I am certain that we loved one another before we suspected it ; my intimacy with her father gave me frequent opportunities of entertaining her, and I became a favourite with the whole family. Her mother, who was an ill-bred, or rather not at all-bred country Gentlewoman, held me in high esteem, because when I pleased I could assume a great deal of the *French Jackanapes*, which she, having never conversed with well-bred men, took to be high-breeding. At last, I began

began to find my condition, for I found myself provoked and uneasy when any country *Beaux* used any rude familiarities towards her, which, with such boobies, passes for gallantry, and she has told me since, that she could not bear to see me particular with any body but herself. At length some affairs calling me to *London*, I was obliged to leave that part of the country, and one that I loved better than I was aware of, and in two years absence, in which time her father died, we maintained our friendship by a correspondence which plainly pointed at marriage; but of that point I never thought seriously till I was alarmed by a letter from her, informing me, that her mother was pushing on with all her might a match between her and a young Gentleman, who was the most contemptible part of the Creation, if you took his fortune from him, which was large; upon this I hurried down into the country, and knowing it was in vain to hope the mother's consent, I not being worth 50*l.* in the world, and without any expectations, we even stole a wedding, to the great grief and resentment of her relations, at the head of which was *Tom's* father, a little country Magistrate, who from a blue-coat school, and the charity of some friends, crept first into a little shop, and afterwards into the number of the Magistrates of his town. For seven months I suffered innumerable injuries and affronts from all her relations, but I bore them all with patience for her sake; at the end of which time, they persuaded me, by my wife's help, to return to my father, and to try

to get into orders ; I obeyed, orders were easily to be obtained, but I could not see the least prospect of a living, and assuming the sacred function for ever cut me off from all hopes of being provided for in any other manner. This, in my letters, which I knew passed through the hands of the whole gang, I observed and enforced, but this was not what they aimed at ; an eternal separation of me and my wife was the project ; so they forced her to write to me in a strange stile, full of reproofs and complaints, charging me not to think of coming near her till I was in an independant state ; for if I did, her mother would throw me into goal, for the board of her and my son, who was born seven months after I was obliged to leave her. I was sadly grieved at this alteration, and finding my own relations something cold in regard to my being disappointed in her fortune ; for the mother, by her father's will, was to hold all, both real and personal, during her life, or widowhood. I determined to go abroad, and wait the event of her mother's death, who I knew would never abide me, because being a most profuse and luxurious woman, I had, at some unguarded times, shewn my dislike of her expence, as if she intended to make her belly her heir ; and moreover, I could not be prevailed upon, to give her my consent and indemnity for a marriage the good Lady had in her head. And, for these strong reasons, my absence was quite necessary.

I went into *France* with a small sum my relations had given me, and applied myself to
Surgery

Surgery and Midwifery ; and to support myself, having many acquaintances at *Paris*, I was, as being perfect master of the *French*, recommended to many of the Nobility, and several of the young Merchants, as an *English* Master ; by this means, and the application of five or six hours a day, I got a very comfortable livelihood.

I had now been seven years from her, two in *England*, and five in *France*, and seldom had a letter above once in half a year, though I never neglected to correspond, when I received one from my eldest brother, informing me of my father's death, and a small freehold he had left ; by this I hoped to make up matters with the mother, and settle it on my wife. I therefore posted for *England*, and in a most amazing short time arrived at the town of my wife's habitation. Here I was informed of my mother-in-law's death, happening nine months before my coming to *England*, who had in her last and piously spent moments, extorted a vow, with an imprecation from her daughter, never to live with me, but to do me all the mischief she could. I found the whole family greatly confused at the sight of me, but they were in some measure prepared for it. My wife, as an heiress, granted up her power of administration to *Tom's* father, who trumped up a pretended debt of my mother-in-law's, and secured all the personal effects to himself. But still one stroke remained, which could be done by no body but *Mrs. Carter*, and this was for me to suffer a fine and recovery of the real estate, and, by deed, to settle all upon my wife,

wife, cut myself out of all, and grant her the power of making a will, such as she pleased. She applied to me, immediately upon the request ; I saw the apparent ruin that was intended for us, and warned her of it, by arguments she could not overcome, so for that time she dropped it ; but being teized and baited by her younger sister, not then of age, and *Tom's* father and mother, she so effectually pursued her ruin, that she never ceased to intreat and weep, till I rashly promised I would do it ; but that I must see and consider the deed first. It was soon got ready, and the most villainous one that ever I saw, cooked up by a very wicked knave of an Attorney, who was afterwards the evident cause of the destruction of the family.—I rejected it with rage and scorn, asking the fellow if ever he saw one like it ? Which he, with the only honest word that ever came out of his mouth, confessed was without a precedent.

Now old *Fillup* was to play his part, he intreats me to sign it as a favour done to him, with large offers of his service to me. At last I was prevailed upon by him and *Mrs. Carter*, and signed the fatal parchment, telling them then, that if ever they put it into execution, it would be the cause of their unavoidable destruction. This was no sooner done, than the honest parson threw off the masque, and told me in plain *English*, that I should not live in that country, for Madam, his wife, could not bear to be in the same shire with me, and that now I had given up my right to the estates, I had no settlement, and was therefore

therefore a vagrant. Though I was thunder-struck at such a speech, I answered calmly I would take my wife and child with me, but that would not do; the boy they must have in their hands. My wife and I were not suffered to live at our own house, but were at an inn, because Miss her sister had an aversion to me, and it being a year almost till she would be of age, when a division of goods and estates should be made, I even made the best of it, and took my wife with me, and a little sum of money, to a distant village, where I had some acquaintance, an hundred miles from home, and there setting up in surgery and midwifery, I quickly got practice, and being successful in two or three different cases, I fell into very good business, so that we lived as well as we could wish, and saved money. If I had staid there ever since, my wife had been alive; for here being distant from her tormentors, she was at ease, and recovered a fine state of health, which before was but indifferent. The time of our returning into the *West* being come, we left the *North* with great regret ourselves, and to the dissatisfaction of many, who seeing what I could do in the business I professed, were very unwilling to part with me. Well, we had a pleasant journey homeward, but a most melancholy reception; for we had not a house to put our heads into, or a bed to lie on. The good Mrs. *Fillup* and her husband, by the connivance of my wretched foster-sister, plundered the dwelling-house of all its furniture, taking what they liked at their own price, and disposing of the rest as they

they could, pretending them all to belong to my mother-in-law, who had no more property in them than you. Indeed some of the worst fort they allowed to be my wife's father's, and therefore her's, but her sister had laid hold on them, and would part with nothing while she could keep it. Every body condemned their proceedings ; but Madam, my aunt, had so great a contempt for all mankind, no body being worthy of her conversation, that she minded not the reflections made on her conduct, and even braved out several reproaches that she most justly deserved.

My wife was astonished, but thought there was something at the bottom for her advantage. She was a few days easy, but in the end, being convinced that she was bit by her own consent, and that she was the ignorant instrument of the destruction of herself and family, the villainy of her relations, and her own folly glaring full in her face, struck her so deeply, that I believe now she received the first infection of a galloping consumption, which carried her off. The baseness of her sister was abominable, for she deserted my poor boy, and let him live as he pleased, though she always pretended the greatest fondness for him, and he must have been lost, if the neighbours, who were his acquaintance from his infancy, had not taken more notice of him than his lewd, vicious, and quickly undone aunt. This neglect of the child was still another stab ; I endeavoured to comfort her as much as was possible, and never once hinted at her joining in the villainies of her relations ;

relations; but still I could perceive little amendment in her spirits. She lived well, but knew not how, for I was obliged to vow a secrecy to an excellent clergyman of my acquaintance, who very comfortably supplied all our necessities, in a way known to none but him and myself.

The poor creature's vexation was much augmented, by certain information that her haughty graceless sister was with child by that villain of an attorney I spoke of before; this sunk to the very bottom of her heart. Here my task of comforting was again renewed, and a very difficult task it was; but, by never upbraiding her with the disgrace of that unhappy wretch, she bore up tolerably; but when the burden of shame was laid down, and that she was forsaken by her gallant, who took care to keep her part of the goods, giving the rest to me, with which I furnished a little house, the load of her fell upon us; for she had no where to rest her shameful head but my house, where she was nursed by my wife and me, at the peril of our lives and constitutions, without any assistance from her relations, and was supported by the friendship of some of her old acquaintance, who would not however see her, and the small income that I made by a school, which I set up to teach children to read and write: But the ingenious people of the town found out quickly that I was unfit for that office, for the strangest reason perhaps you ever did or will hear, which was, that I was too good a scholar. At last the poor unfortunate creature died, having, I
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fear, much trifled away the time of reprieve the Almighty gave her.

Soon after her death my wife had a second son, so that I had an addition to my family, but none to my circumstances; I however struggled hard with my school, and made a shift to get bread, though but a scanty pittance. From the time of her delivery she grew weaker, and we were obliged to put the child out, but all would not do, she died about six months after the birth of her son, worn to a skeleton. I had now two children and no wife; but though, God forgive me, I grieved immoderately for her, to the prejudice of my health, I neglected not the children, and endeavoured to find out some way of life, resigning myself entirely to God. Some of her words, two or three days before her death, the approach of which she seemed very sensible of, I never shall forget; she told me some horrible secrets of her uncle and aunt's management, which I knew must be for ever a curse upon them, and added, "My dear, you have as great a share in my death as any body." How so, how can it be? replied I, all over trembling. "Why," says she, "your tender care of me in my sickness, and, indeed, always, throws my ingratitude every moment with pain in my face. I grieve every minute that I could be brought to join with such villains against you; but I thought it all for the best, and was bewitched by their false reasoning. Had you dealt by me with the harshness I deserved, though your wife, I had never been acquainted with your virtues; and looking
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ing upon you in the light my wicked relations shewed you to my over-powered senses, I should have concluded that all I did was right, and never given myself a moment's thought about it. Oh, that I could live to return such honest love, but it is all over; a few days will make you a widower, but be good to the children." How do you think this must affect me! But to proceed. I formed a scheme, when my mind was a little calmed, by which, with a little interest, I hoped some small provision from the estate; but this taking wind, they resolved to finish the business at once, and therefore by their agents, the engineers set my creditors, but few in reality, though there came several demands of my wife's contracting, of which I never heard before her death, and which I believe were false; I say, they set my creditors upon me, and one morning coming out of my chamber I was arrested, and my goods distrained. The door was locked up, and I sent to hold, lest any friend should assist me, and I was obliged to sell my goods for much less than value, to procure my liberty; some little overplus I lodged in good hands for the support of my children. Thus freed, I thought all was over, but one stab still was in store; the parish officers were for driving me, the big boy, and the nursed child out of their liberties, for fear they or I should become chargeable. Upon this point I satisfied them, by swearing to the parish where my last estate was.

Finding now there was nothing but cruelty, injustice, and oppression to be expected here, I

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resolved to set out for *London*, with some little money I had, and some more that my dear friend the Clergyman, Mr. *Villiager* gave me, for he assured me, he was convinced, that they would stop at nothing to do me injury, for they could not bear a living instance of their barbarity to be in their neighbourhood; and you have no hopes, says he, of any reconciliation to them; for they have done you too much mischief ever to forgive you. All that I had to do was to recommend my children to the care of the only honest man I ever knew of my wife's relations, and depositing in his hand my poor little all, with a few shirts, stockings, handkerchiefs, and the like, bundled up in a large napkin, I began my journey to *London*, which after twelve days most tiresome walking I reached, though many used to such exercises would perform it in three.

See me here now, dear *Walcot*, in the most abandoned state, most of my acquaintance dead or worn out, except some who were too great to take notice of such a poor creature as me; my cloaths were barely the remains of what had been good; my linen in the same situation; my money, though managed with the greatest frugality, insensibly, nay, rather sensibly decreasing, and no prospect of any recruit that I knew of: Yet still I protest I never despaired, but had a strong and chearful reliance on the God of my salvation. I thought of several things to no purpose; at last it came into my head to go to a very great man, who, in the days of my prosperity, which were but few, made me many voluntary offers of service:

vice: I gained admittance by sending in my name, but when he saw dejection on my countenance, and poverty in my dress, his countenance immediately dropped, and after I had stated all my miserable case to him, he told me he never would interfere in family quarrels; but, says he, if your Uncle will make the request, which I shall look upon as a token of reconciliation, I'll try my power, so he left me, and I writ to a very good man in the neighbourhood to beg of him to write to the Courtier, not for my sake, but that of the poor innocents, who could never offend him: his answer was like his life, vile, and fit for nothing, but the mouth of a drunkard, of which folly he is often accused, that if it were possible that the children could have it without its being any benefit to me, he'd use all his interest, but rather than I should partake, he could see them starve on a dung-hill. Good God! What would become of this poor *Tom*, if I was of the temper of his family? I might destroy him, his life is in my power; and if I should only order that he should have uncommon tasks, miserable diet, much and severe correction, he must perish ten thousand times in a worse manner, than one that dies by a whole day's torture.

I dropped all my court schemes now, and began to fall into a weakness for want of due nourishment, my face and limbs were fallen away, and it was taken notice of by every body that knew me, particularly at a house where I used to eat, while I had wherewith to pay for my meat, and amongst the rest, by

one young man of the city that was a Merchant's Clerk, who took opportunities of conversing with me in *French*, to correct his own pronunciation. This young fellow, one evening when the weather was extremely cold, came into the house I used, and seeing me sitting by the fire with a pennyworth of beer before me, which I husbanded very well to preserve my seat, told me in *French*, I was grown a niggard, and since he saw I had so little regard for myself, he'd shew me he valued me more than I did. So ordering a warm room and fire, and hot punch, we went together. Before I drank I told him, with a melancholy smile, that I must take him at his word, and be his guest, for that I was disappointed in returns from the country.—He laughed at my apology, and so we fell into some common chat in *French*. But after supper, and when our tempers were pretty much opened by the liquor, he grew more particular, and was so urgent, that at last I told him almost the whole circumstances of my life, as I have to you. He was often in tears, and so was I; at last, on parting, he put five guineas in my hand, insisting upon my taking them, and then appointed me to meet him the next day in the same place at dinner. He gave me no time to reply, for he left me instantly in the greatest confusion that ever man felt: A thousand thoughts crowded upon me at once; I thought his behaviour too open and honest, since I conversed with him, to have any evil design concealed at the bottom; but then I asked myself why he could use such uncommon

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mon generosity to an accidental acquaintance? I thought, indeed, that I could myself find vast pleasure in relieving the distress of a Gentleman, and therefore why may not he. I retired to my lodging, and this thought entertained me most part of the night, but the more I considered on it, I was at the greater loss what to make of it; at last I came to this resolution, that if there was any thing base or wicked proposed to me, I would reject it with contempt, and return the money with resentment and scorn: but I had no need to think meanly of his conduct to me, for I found him to be of a most generous and noble spirit, and as far from low designs as I could wish any of my acquaintance to be; for he was, *Walcot*, but the instrument of God to raise me from my misery, and convince me that no state is so wretched, which is not intended a road to happiness here or hereafter.

The morning of the day we were to meet, was spent in a strange uncertainty and uneasiness, I longed to know the issue, and yet I feared what it might be; for though I had the best notions of the Gentleman, yet I could not help giving way now and then to doubts and jealousies. At last we met and dined by ourselves, and when the room was free from the waiters, he spoke to me thus. I have, Sir, had for a long time, a great desire to speak to you freely; for though you thought that you concealed the misery of your circumstances from every eye, yet mine, as I had a regard for you from our first conversation, every day saw more and more of it. I have, as I know you are an excellent

cellent scholar, and I believe fit for any kind of business, been watchful to find some way for you, and at last I have, I hope, fixed upon what will be agreeable to you, if you can think of going to *America*. Any where, said I, rather than live to be pitied or despised in my native country. I am glad to understand that, says he, for there only I stuck.—Then hear me; there are two Ladies coheiresses in *Carolina*, near *Charles-Town*, vastly rich, both in lands and effects, their Clerk an Old Man that served their father is lately dead, and they being unwilling to have any of the natives in a place of such trust, have sent to their agent here for an *Englishman* of good learning and character to supply his place. The salary is 100*l. English* yearly, besides all the convenience of board, washing, and lodging. This was proposed to an unthinking silly fellow, my younger brother, who could not be prevailed upon to trust his body so long with the sea, though, in the end, he knew he should arrive at his *Canaan*, a land flowing with punch. In the course of our conversation, I observed that you are a Master of Mathematics, and therefore if not already acquainted with, you may soon make yourself Master of Book-keeping; I cannot say but I have an interest myself in your being at *Carolina*, because as I intend in some time to trade thither, I should think myself happy in having a correspondent there, of whom I should think as well as I do of you. I told him I should be rejoiced to have any power of shewing him my gratitude, and then he proceeded. The agent
you

you shall be introduced to in a few days, but I would have your appearance mended; for the world is but too apt to judge of the man's merit by his outward appearance, therefore add these fifteen guineas to what you have, and giving them to me, said I'll send directly for my tailor. There was no contesting with his goodness, and therefore I submitted; the tailor came, and I chose a very grave cloth. In short, in three days I was fit to appear before any body. By appointment I was to meet my good friend at a coffee-house in the city, on the morning in which I was to be introduced to the agent; I was there before him, and he some time after coming in, looked round the room, but did not seem to know me; upon that I approached him, taking him by the hand, What Mr. *Tuffnel*, for that was his name, don't you know your friend *Carter*? Oh, the power of dress! cried he softly, I must have heard you speak to know you; I wish, if you dress thus in *Carolina*, you don't carry off one of the heiresses; but come, says he, let us breakfast quickly, for if the old man goes out, it will cost us another morning to wait on him. We made great haste, and drove furiously to the agent's house, where we waited almost as long to be introduced as at court, for the old man was a great bigot to forms and ceremonies. At last Mr. *Tuffnel* had admittance, and after a full half-hour, which he told me afterwards, the old man spent in impertinent questions, I was called in. He began to examine me with the sternness of a justice of peace; at last, says he to my friend, after he
had

had eyed me through his spectacles ; Ah, this fellow is too young and too handsome ; this is sending a fox amongst the hens, and yet his hand is good, and he seems to have some sense ; harkee, says he to me, with a dry and dull sneer, can you give me a thousand pounds security that I don't write to you by the name of Squire in a few years ; you will certainly marry one of your Mistresses ; and thus the old man diverted himself with me for near an hour ; then composing his face to its natural stupidity, Sir, says he, I have security from Mr. *Tuffnel* for your good behaviour ; I am to pay you a year's salary before-hand, which is one hundred pounds ; Here is a bank note, and give me a receipt ; I would advise you to lay it out in working tools, light stuffs, and linens that will turn to the best account. A ship sails in three weeks for *Carolina*, and then take care to be prepared. We made our compliments, and were just going, when he cried out, stay Gentlemen, and drink a glass of wine, and then going to a little closet, and fumbling a minute or two ; alack-a-day, alack-a-day ! How I was mistaken, said he ; but come, there is a little hut hard by, where I will shew you a cup of your right stuff.—My friend was, I observed, on the grin, but I could not tell what to make of it, and so followed the old man, who led us to a little private tavern, where the old fellow called about him like a fury, and grew the most face-odd creature in the world ; dinner time coming on, he ordered one for us, and between glass and glass he entertained us with some of his tricks in

in the stocks ; and as a very great joke, shewed us how handsomely he outwitted a neighbour, who had in him the greatest confidence ; I thought to myself that so much wit deserved nothing less than the gallows. Thus he went on till supper, and till it grew so late that I knew I could not get home in time. The agent finding us gape, pulled his watch out, and declared it was not quite twelve ; but children, since you are for going, go ; get another bottle, boy, I'll pay the bill ; here lad, and thrust his hands into all his pockets, God forgive me, cries he, what have I done to-day ? I have not brought out a penny with me, but no matter, let's see the bill, 'tis but five and twenty shillings, ay, ay child, *Carter*, Mr. *Tuffnel* will let you have money on your note ; you shall treat now, and the next is mine. Sir, says I, I need change no note, I have other money, and so pulling out an handful, I threw down the sum, which a few days before was an estate to me. Why ay, says the old fellow, now I like you, you should always have money in your purse, child. *Tuffnel*, he will as sure as day get my favourite Lady, Miss *Molly*, but no matter, she is but a woman, but sad rich, sad rich. Good night lads, I'll blow half a pipe more, and then to prayers, farewell, and so with much joy we left him.

In walking towards our quarters, Mr. *Tuffnel* asked me what I thought of the agent's character and behaviour ; I affirmed that it was the strangest to me that ever I observed. Ay, replied my friend, that man shews you
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the worth of money, and what respect it can procure to the owner: The man, *Mr. Carter*, is worth above an hundred thousand pounds, and I truly don't think his expences amount to one hundred pounds a year: Never did *Sir Robert Clayton*, or *Sir John Cutler*, understand the worth and the method of multiplying money better than this old fellow; but though they were masters in that science of keeping it, and avoiding the throwing away of an idle penny, yet he is superior in that branch of knowledge, for set aside maintaining, in a very sad manner, an old man and maid servant, and the soap he gives for the washing his old patched linen, he is never at any other cost, and yet he lives well, and is the very best customer of that house where we were; it is his office for the paying, receiving, and lending money; and his attendants must be very hard and strait-laced, if he does not live as well upon them every day, as he did upon us to-day, for I must pay you half. He sets up for one of great charity to the poor, which he shews by his attendance and begging amongst the nobility upon all great and public collections; the world indeed uses him a little severely upon that head, for some do not stick to affirm that he reckons himself amongst the needy, and therefore pays himself a dividend in proportion to his wants, real or imaginary. I am surpris'd he did not make you pay a good handsome premium for your admittance and the advance of an hundred pounds, but I suppose he feared that when you got into the *Indies*,
you

you might drop some hints of his avarice to the eldest Lady, who has at present but a very bad opinion of him, though the younger, from what reason she knows best, supports his interest, and declares, if he is put out of the agency, that she'll part stocks with her sister. There was one thing which gave me a great deal of satisfaction, which was, that when he spoke of your marrying one of the Ladies you did not seem to take any notice of it, for the old man is full of cunning, and is not well pleased that they will not receive an awkward kinsman of his, who was with them two years under the old Steward, but found incapable; yet the old fellow endeavours to keep off all others in hopes of his being received again, vainly imagining he could marry one of the Ladies, *Booby as he is*, who are both absolutely well bred, but the eldest is a most accomplished woman.

All the time till my sailing, was employed in buying and fitting out my cargo, and by the assistance of Mr. *Tuffnel* and his friends, it was made a most profitable one: besides the things necessary for sale, I laid out some money in books and cloaths, amongst the latter, of which there was one unlucky suit, that had very near sent me back to *England*, as I shall tell you in its place. At last the time of departure was come, and though I was urgent upon the changing of my note with my friend to accept his money, he would not, but desired I would send him some choice rum from *Carolina*, at my leisure and conveniency, and

unknown to me he furnished a most excellent sea-store of all things necessary and comfortable for so long a voyage, but I thank God, I have since shewn him my gratitude, for he was the actual maker of my fortune, though he did not without doubt, suppose it would be of the same extent it is.—However he has, and ever shall have my gratitude, and I, though if you knew him I would not tell, have had the pleasure of rescuing him twice from apparent destruction.

On *Friday* the 27th of *March*, we fell down the river, and in a few days got to sea. The voyage was long and tiresome, sometimes by adverse winds, and sometimes by no wind at all; this, though grievous to all the rest on board, was an advantage to me, for having the use of the great cabin, and very little trouble with the Captain's company, except at meal-times, I had an opportunity of perfecting myself in the art of book-keeping, by the assistance of three or four treatises which I brought from *England* on that subject: This also had another good effect, it took up my thoughts and hindered me from grieving as often as I should after my child. At length we arrived at *Charles-Town*, and as soon as the vessel came up to the quay, I sent to know if the Ladies were in town, and it happened they were, who sent me word to come to them at farthest about dinner-time, which was with them at three o'clock. Here, Parson, I made the almost fatal blunder, for, as soon as I received their message, I fell to washing, shaving and powdering, and all the preparations

tions towards dress, and this might do well enough, because it did not exceed decency; but the misfortune was, that amongst the stock of cloaths I brought, by the persuasion of Mr. *Tuffnel*, I purchased in *Monmouth-street* a suit of brown Paduasoy, nothing the worse, being only worn on a birth-day, and once or twice more, with gold buttons and holes, and the waistcoat well laced. In this suit I chose to make my approaches to my ladies and Mistresses, but I had better have let that alone. After I had gone through the ceremonies of dress with great caution, for you must know, Parson, I was so vain a fool as to think myself a very pretty fellow, I found the way to the house, now mine, in *Charles-Town*, and enquiring for the lady of the house, the eldest, afterwards my wife, came to me, and upon my informing her that I had some letters for her from *England*, she took me into the great parlour, where I delivered her all my credentials. She read them over, and then told me, she was very glad that the man had so good a character, and hoped he would answer it. Then addressing herself to me, Pray, Sir, says she, have you known this young man for any time? For though I have a very good opinion of the prudence of my friends in *England*, yet a word from a man of your appearance upon the spot, would be very satisfactory. Judge you how I must be amazed. I was silent some minutes; but at last, in a very confused manner, told her, that I was the person recommended. It was then her turn to be in a surprize, which was great, lively, and

and natural, and after a long stare, Sir, says she with a smile, it is certainly impossible, you have a mind to be merry with me. Madam, says I, it would scarcely pay the expence to come so many hundred leagues of water for the sake of a jest. If my appearance has deceived you, I am sorry that it was not better suited to my circumstances; for never having been in a state of servitude before, I was not cautious enough to regulate my dress to my circumstances; but, Madam, I shall not err so for the future. She stood silent for some time, and at length, Sir, says she, with a strangely altered countenance, I'll come to you by and by, and so left me. While she was away I could not avoid reflecting on the folly of desiring to dress beyond our circumstances, and affecting to appear rich in the eyes of those who know us to be poor, for this, instead of gaining what we vainly aim at, respect, only subjects us to the contempt and ridicule of those whose wealth so far exceeds ours, or even our hope, and upon whom we may be unhappily dependant for the very means of a livelihood.

In the midst of these meditations I was awakened from thought by the coming in with the first lady the younger sister, who though, by the by, looked to be ten years the elder. Though both these ladies had the same opportunities, being sent very early to *England* for education, yet they differed very widely in their tempers. The elder was of a sweet, affable, complaisant nature, the other had a peevish cast of mind, affected much plainness.

plainness, and speaking her mind, as she called it, upon all occasions, and uttering the rudest and bitterest thoughts that came into her head, in words agreeable to her thoughts to all people upon all subjects. She was naturally very arch and unlucky, but extremely malicious, a sample of which she gave me the moment I saw her. When they entered I made them a very low bow, which she returned with an affectedly awkward courtesy, and then staring at me as if I had been a statue; Lord, sister, says she, you love to joke with people! Is this fine man, all over gold, come to be our steward! Believe you no such thing; perhaps the gentleman is come to purchase a plantation or two of us, or maybe he is come a suitoring: Pray, Sir, which of us do you like best? I was quite confounded and unhinged; at last, I, with some stammering, got out, Madam, I came from *England* with no other intention than that of doing the duty of a faithful servant to you, and I suppose Mr. *Watson*, your agent in *England*, had not sent me if he did not think me qualified. Ah, but, says she, did he ever see you in these fine garments; if he did, I am sure he would not dare to speak a word of stewardship to you, but would rather take you for a fortune-hunter. Poor *Bellington*, the last steward, how reverend did he appear with his black coat, grey hair, short cravat, and his pen stuck behind his ear: he indeed looked like a steward, but you are like a steward's master; I wish heartily that you were in *England*, for such poor people as we are

are cannot support a man of your figure. Her sister seeing me ready to sink and quite speechless, in charity took her up, Come, *Betty*, says she, our letters inform us, that he is a gentleman, and had a plentiful fortune, nobody's misfortunes should be our jest; God knows best what is reserved for us. But, Sir, says she, I apprehend that you will quickly have your chests here, and then pray change your dress, for so uncommon an appearance as you make may cause some disagreeable noise, and as dinner is ready we only wait for you. I followed them quite mortified, and could not get myself into any spirits all the time that we sat, for that malicious creature had every now and then her splenatic fling at me; as for her example, the elder lady asking if I had travelled in *Europe*, and upon my replying that I had seen *Holland*, *France*, and *Italy*, she then supposed that I understood the *French* language, and I replying I did, we discoursed in it for some minutes; for the elder, Miss *Gates*, that was my mistress's name, spoke it very tolerably, when the perverse one interrupts us with, *We, We, We*, pox on them *We's* and the language and country together, I never could abide being taught it at *Hackney*: Come, sister, I'll lay you five pounds that our gentleman steward is a *French* talking or dancing-master. Fie, says the elder, reddening, how can you take such pleasure in giving uneasiness, every accomplished man in *England* is master of that tongue, and why may not Mr. *Carter*, though he had his misfortunes? O ho, says peevish, say you so? Accomplished! It is

is not come to that already, sure! Sister, my service to you, I know what I know. Quite stunned, I begged leave to retire, which was granted rather by a sign than words, and as I went out my eldest lady called to Mrs. *Warren*, their relation and house-keeper, to shew me my apartment, and a warehouse for my goods, which are the same that *Tom* had 'till I knew him. I found the place very compact and convenient, and was very well pleased to be out of the house to avoid that Termagant. As soon as it grew cool, the greatest part of my goods were brought to my apartments, and then I was able to shew myself to them in a suit of *English* stuff, if they had pleased to see me; but I saw nothing of them for three days. I was pretty much surprized at supper-time, when Mrs. *Warren* came to me and asked if I chose to have my meals brought to my apartment or to eat with her; for, says she, no clerk before yourself ever sat down to table with the Ladies. I answered that it was indifferent to me, and that she might do as best suited her conveniency, and she did so; for I very seldom went into the house, but had my provisions of all sorts, every meal an untouched dish, with wine, &c. brought to my chamber every time they sat to meat. I never gave myself any trouble to look into the reason of this, but ascribed it to pride; though the true cause Mrs. *Warren* let me know two years afterwards. I was almost a stranger in the family, being always in my office or at the plantations, and never went into the dwelling-house except on Saturday night,

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night, when I passed my weekly accounts with Miss Gates.

An accident, which in a little time happened, brought me a little better acquainted with the family : A favourite maid servant from *England* having hurt her right leg above the ankle, it turned, by bad management and quacking, into a very ugly ulcer, which spread over great Part of the limb, but still no Surgeon was sent for till it was actually mortified ; he used some means, but they failing, he pronounced it incurable, and declared, that to save the patient's life, it must be cut off. This made all the house very uneasy, and Mrs. Warren speaking of it to me with some concern, I told her if I could see the fore, that perhaps I might save the leg ; this was quickly reported to the elder Lady, who the same evening sent for me into the house, and desired I would do what I could ; I had a set of instruments by me, and went to work, clearing off all the mortified flesh, and by proper applications I soon put it out of danger, and in time recovered it entirely, by which I got much reputation, and became Physician in ordinary to the family. To be short, about a year after I was called to the assistance of my younger Lady, who was full of gross humours by an odd diet she loved, and the want of exercise ; I prescribed for her, and she let me do so ; but being a great dealer in weeds, she resolved to be her own Doctor, and in a few weeks physicked herself into her grave. Matters now began to wear a new face, my good Lady gave free way to her good

good and bountiful disposition, and was a general benefit to the whole country: I now was frequently desired to dine with her; but every Sunday I was ordered to come without farther invitation, by these means my mistress and I had much conversation, and by answering her questions, I, by degrees, let her into most of the particulars of my life; she often expressed much pity for me, and once remarked, upon my tenderneſs to my wife, after her indiscreet conduct in regard to the destruction of my fortune, Why, Sir, said she, what must the woman expect and hope from you who made your fortune, when you expressed such fondness for one that destroyed it. The hint, though plain, passed me unobserved, and I never went the smallest step beyond the bounds of respect, though I do not know, but unknown to myself, I mixed some tenderneſs with it. One evening, my Lady being gone upon a visit, Mrs. Warren invited me into tea, her discourse chiefly turned upon the subject of marriage, she asked me if I had laid aside all thoughts of a second wife, for she could not think but I might get a very good fortune if I would set myself about it. I took but little of her talk, thinking it only the natural love women have for speaking, especially on the subject of weddings, that set her into the prating vein; at last, says she, I think Mr. Carter you are blind and insensible, or you could understand me by this time; I thought she was going to offer me her own person of fifty-five, and so only said carelessly, I did not think any woman

would be troubled with me who had no fortune. The devil's in the man, said she, why the woman has no need of fortune that likes you; let me see that there is no body in hearing—No, there is not, why look ye, Mr. *Carter*, you may be master of this family, if you please, to my certain knowledge; speak and speed in plain *English*, my mistress gave me leave to tell you so. Now she is a lone woman, it is necessary she should have a person to assist her, and there are none of our *Creole* Gentry that she can like, though they have made large advances towards it, you are the man, and so behave discreetly, and in a little time all is your own.

The Lady was a most agreeable woman, and the hopes of so happy a settlement, for age wrought so strongly in me, that by degrees, as she gave me opportunities, I opened my mind to her, and was well received, she treated me with an openness and sincerity, which added to my esteem for her; and in about six months after my declaration, which was near two years after her sister's death, we were married publicly in St. Nicholas's church in *Charles Town*, to the great mortification of several of our greatest unmarried planters. I received many ill offices from the people of the colony, in envy of my good fortune, but I dealt so severely by them in returning them for their injuries all the services in my power, that I soon got into their good opinion, and have, I bless God, maintained and increased it by all the endeavours that I could think of.

I lived in great happiness with Mrs. *Carter* for two years, at which time she was ready to lye in. A long time before the expected hour, she grew dull and fearful, and was uneasy when I was from her, for which reason I spent as much of my time as could be spared from necessary business with her, and strove as much as in me lay to cheer her, but her mind had a great and uncommon cast, and her imagination was full of extraordinary and weighty matters, at last one evening as I sat with her, she said Mr. *Carter*, I see you love me, and I rejoice in the knowledge, therefore I insist that you suffer me to do one thing which is in my head, and such a thing it is, that I shall never be easy 'till it is done; I told her that she knew my will was always hers, and she might command instead of intreating me. Ay, but says she, I fear your generosity will be a little touch'd with my proposal; but I have your promise, and this it is, that a Lawyer is directly sent for, who shall draw up a deed of settlement, which shall intitle you and your heirs for ever to all my real estate, in case of the death of me and my child: This I do, dear Mr. *Carter*, to secure you from some of my distant relations, who would give you much trouble, and, perhaps in the end, arrest all out of your hands; and though you are pretty rich in money, a reality is much better for you and your posterity. The generous intencion touched me to the very heart, and enlarged my love and fears for her. The deed was drawn as firmly as law could ratify, which she, when perfected, delivered

livered to me before witness, declaring it her own free will, without any compulsion or even desire on my side; I observed that her spirits cleared up, and the melancholy and dullness that sat upon her absolutely vanished, which gave me much hope of her well doing, but another trial was reserved for me. At length her travail fell upon her, and tho' she had all the assistance the place could afford, both of woman and man, the latter of which she declined too long, yet she had a dreadful and dangerous time, a male infant, of which she was delivered, just cried in the world, and expired, and we expected every moment when she should follow, but it pleased God to enlarge her reprieve. Several months she languished, sometimes giving me a little hope, and then as quickly dashing them to the ground by some unhappy relapse: By this I saw plainly I should lose her, which afflicted me much; for besides the love between husband and wife, we had contracted a perfect friendship and esteem for one another, and therefore I very seldom left her night or day, spending the hours in prayer, profitable discourse, or reading to her the scriptures: But nature sunk daily under her disorder, of which she was sensible, so very sensible, that she fixed the time of her death, which she was deceived in only two hours, and departed sensible and cheerful, in full hopes of God's mercy.

Here was I again left destitute; I was indeed a man of fortune, but I wanted that relishing salt of life content, without which riches are a mere

mere nothing. I was constantly full of my griefs for near a year; the loss of my wife, and the uncertainty of the life or condition of my son, pray'd constantly upon my spirits, so that at last, to break the edge of my anguish, I took to trade and business with much eagerness, whereby in two years, without design, I improv'd my fortune beyond my thought. I wrote to England several times, but to no purpose; I had no answer, which made me conclude that my friends were dead, or thought too little of me to be at the trouble of answering my letters. In the season of my uneasiness you arrived in *Carolina*, and, I thank God, I find my mind much quieted by your company.

Now view my strange turn of life, think how bitterly I have felt the hand of correction, the smart of which is not quite yet gone; and on the other hand view the strange and wonderful dispensations of heaven in my favour, the sweets of which I every moment enjoy, and then conclude if it is any way unnatural that my mind is sometimes the seat of anxiety, though oftener a vast deal I endeavour to make it the temple of praise and thanksgiving to the Almighty.

Why truly, Sir, said I, you have had a life full of variety, chequered exactly with black and white, though if I mistake not, you have received more of good than evil; but this great advantage you have from it, that it has made a wiser as well as a better man: You can now feel the miseries of your fellow-creatures, and can, by your own experience, judge how

how to relieve their distresses; saying thus we walked towards the house, where, so soon as we arrived, were told that a neighbour, who had been at *Charles Town*, desired to speak with us. His message was, that he had seen Capt. *Bird* at the Quay, who was just arrived from the Spanish Main, who desired him to wait upon Mr. *Carter* and me, to let us know of his arrival, and that he would, as soon as possible, come to see us; when as the messenger went out of the parlor, well, says Mr. *Carter*, you see one part of my dream is come true; *Bird* is impatient to see us, and look to it, Parson, that he does not bring the present I thought of; for if so, it will be a scandal to the gown: But, come, I will own it myself, rather than that my reverend friend's character should suffer.

The next day, after dinner, being in our usual retirement, the pavillion, our discourse turn'd upon the subject he had always at heart his son in England; when I observ'd to him, that now he might make himself easy, for as it was likely that Mr. *Bird* wou'd soon go to England; he might commission to do all he thought proper in regard to the boy; tho' my advice was that he should not think of taking him out of Europe till he had thoroughly perfected his education; for besides all other advantages, he would thereby gain a companion that might be a pleasing amusement to him in private, and a credit to him in public, thus while he listen'd too attentively, and was giving his approbation of it, a servant entered, and told him that Capt. *Bird* was to wait on him

him, who, while the servant spoke, entered the room; Well, says Mr. *Carter, Walcot*, here is one part verified. The Captain soon paid his compliments in his way, and enquiring what trade my friend had by him, I thought it time to withdraw; for there are some points of business which the dearest friends do not care to let each other know, except they are directly concerned. I took a walk of near an hour long in the Grove, that I might give them time to be perfectly done before I came. On my entrance I could perceive a sort of calm satisfaction sitting on my host's face, and heard the Captain say as I came in, Yes, yes, make no doubt of it, I shall break bulk at *Bristol*, and then it is but a step; I'll warrant you I'll do all you command me. By this I perceived that they were talking of the young Gentleman.

The Captain then turning to me, Well Parson, says he, if I had not sold your cargo, which I have, I should not have come empty handed to you, for I have brought you a present. A present, said I, what can it be? Why faith, said he, a very fine boy, if you can know what to do with him, for I do not. A boy! cries *Carter*, the dream is out: But what is he, Captain, and where got you him? Why, Sir, says he, I got him on the *Spanish Main*; he was brought from *China* by a *Mocha* ship, but he is not that countryman; he speaks a little broken *Spanish*, but his own language is very rough, and, at the same time, high-sounding, not unlike the *High Dutch*; and we can by no means find out whence he comes.

He is a very fine person of a youth, as, perhaps, you ever saw ; vastly good-natured and tractable, but apt also to grow very fullen and melancholy if he apprehends any ill-usage or slight. He was given as a present to my friend by one of the Factors at *Mocha*, and he, not knowing what to do with him, has given him to me. I never treated him as a slave, and I present him to you as a free man ; for likely, as you have much leisure upon your hands, you may make something of him. It is impossible for me to express the strong agitation of mind I was under, I knew not why, whilst the Captain spoke ; I thanked him for the lad, and told him I would use my endeavours with him. I then asked him if he was a Christian ; he replied, he knew not, but he thought he was not ; though he observed he took much delight in seeing the men at their devotion, and seemed to aim at joining with them. This gave me a good impression of him, and I found in myself an unaccountable longing to see him, so I asked the Captain where he was ; he answered, he was with the vessel ; but that since I would have him, as he was in a day or two to be with *Squire Carter*, to settle the barter and trade, he would then bring him, and give him up to me entirely ; and then he and my host entered into a discourse on their business, while I was entirely taken up with my new servant. A thousand thoughts, as quick as lightening, passed through my mind : This youth, thought I, is sent me, perhaps, for some great end ; I will therefore take care, that as soon as he can

can understand me, he shall want no instruction: How know I but he may be ordained to be the beginning of my ministry; the Lord works by secret and wonderful ways, and I should not reject this motion of my mind, which urges me to think thus of him. While I was buried in this contemplation, they were got to the door of the pavilion, without my observing them; and I should not have missed them if the Captain had not said, Farewel, Mr. *Walcot*, I am going. Waked by this, I followed them slowly at a little distance, and was so very absent the whole evening, that they both took notice of it.

When the Captain was gone, I applied to Mr. *Carter*, and asked him if I had his permission to receive the youth. He answered chearfully, that I might do in that point, and all others that gave me content, as I pleased; that he told me, at my first coming, that I was as much master of the house as he, and he expected I should remember it; and that for his part he wished as much to see the lad as I did, for there must be something curious and entertaining in him.

With this grant I set to work, and ordered a little room in my apartment to be fitted up for him as a bed-chamber, and disposed every thing to make it convenient to himself and me; but I determined, till I should be very well satisfied who and what he was, that I would never put him to the least servile office. The time till the Captain's arrival hung very heavy on my hands; for Mr. *Carter* was engaged in looking into his affairs, so that I had as much

time for thought as I pleased. At last the Captain arrived, and with him my new guest: At the time that they came we were just set down to dinner; but the servants knowing the great intimacy between Mr. *Bird* and their Master, made no scruple of introducing him. As soon as I saw, I asked him earnestly where was my boy; he replied, in the house. Mr. *Carter* would have him called in immediately, but the Captain stopped him, saying, I know his temper, he will not eat with you, or in your presence, till he is better known to you; whether it is a token of respect in his country or not I cannot tell, but so it is; he behaved so with me at first; but if the sailors gave him his mess, he would take it with good manners and thankfulness, and retiring to another part of the ship, would eat by himself. Orders then were given to serve him, and his dinner sent him from the table, which he, as we were told, eat heartily, and seemed vastly pleased and delighted with the house, for he understood he was to stay here.

As soon as he had dined he was called in, and, indeed, my friend *Bird* had not said a syllable of him he did not deserve; but, I thought, less than he mentioned. There was in his air something noble and commanding; he was swarthy, but I have seen many of the *French* more so; for his colour, though brown, was not muddy nor dirty, but bright and lively; his nose, though small, was formed in the *Roman* way, and all his features most regular and engaging. A vast flow of long black hair, all in natural curls, hung down
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below his shoulders, and his make was most neat and just. The Captain took care too that he should lose none of his perfections, for he had fitted him exactly with a good suit in the *English* fashion, and linen and every thing else proper for it, so that he made a most graceful appearance. The moment I saw him I found myself prepossessed in his favour; after he had bowed to every body in the room, he began to speak in a language that none of us understood, in which he used many periods and cadences; which finished, he went to Mr. *Carter*, and taking him by the hand kissed it, the same he did by me and the Captain. Mr. *Bird* then attempted, in his broken *Spanish*, to let him know with whom he was. Mr. *Carter*, who was a tolerable master of the tongue, eased him of his trouble, and they discoursed together a long time, during which time the lad could not be brought to sit, till Mr. *Carter* seemed to speak a little vehemently to him, then he blushed, and bowed and sat down. The substance of their discourse was, as Mr. *Carter* told us, first he was asked who he was, and whence he came; his answer was, that he had been for many years the child of misfortune, and scarcely knew himself who he was; besides, till he could speak ours or the *Spanish* language better, he could not, for want of words, give the little account he was able of himself. Then he was asked if he was a Christian, he answered, No; that he professed no religion, never having been instructed in any; but that he believed the God of
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the Christians the best God, and far beyond those he had seen worshipped and sacrificed to in other countries. Then Mr. *Carter* demanded of him, if he would chuse to be instructed in the worship of the true and great God ; he replied, that he was a poor blind creature, and should thank any body that gave him light. These answers coming from a youth, that, to all appearance, could not exceed eighteen or nineteen years, gave me reason to hope that a mind so well prepared and disposed for being taught, would soon make a wonderful progress. Mr. *Carter* then told him that he belonged to me, but that I would use him like a brother and not a servant ; that I was a Priest of the most high God, and would lead him to the knowledge of his will, which if he did, he would, after death, be for ever blessed with the great Maker of all things. At the saying of this the lad eyed me for some time attentively, and at last, bursting into tears, he threw himself at my feet, and embracing my knees in the most moving tone, which I could not understand, and, as Mr. *Carter* interpreted, begged that I would have the charity to shew him the way, for he had long wished to know the great God, and knew that *Chi-Thong*, and others, were but wood and stone, and only wicked spirits that tormented their worshippers. I raised him up, and, through Mr. *Carter*, promised him that I would take care he should not want a guide as soon as he could understand our language.

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From this time forward he became my sole care; and in a little space, such as six or seven months, Mr. *Carter* made him a very good *Spaniard*, and taught him *English* tolerably well, so well that, with very little difficulty, he was able to converse with me for hours; and that I might be sure to have the more liberty of conversing and instructing, I had the pavilion, which was a large building of the kind, containing three Rooms on a floor, furnished for us both: Here we dwelled, and were very little in company, except at meal times. As soon as I found the *English* grew easy to him, my next intent was to have him taught to read, that he might be able to peruse the scriptures: In this he had all the assistance the family could give him, who were all so taken with the sweetness of his disposition, that they took pleasure in conversing with him, and doing him any service: His genius was so strong, and so faithfully kept all information, that he no sooner had been taught the names, sounds, and powers of the letters, but he, with very little more teaching, proceeded in his study by himself; and by the time he was eighteen months with us, he spoke, read, and began to write *English* tolerably well.

Now this was the season for me to strike the great stroke, and endeavour to bring him, with his own good will, into the Christian Faith. To begin then, I encouraged him to attend family prayers, and explained to him the nature and doctrine of praying, telling him it consisted of three parts; first, a Confession

cession of our sins and unworthiness, by which we had offended heaven, and justly provoked its wrath and indignation : Secondly, in Petitions, to beg the mercy of God for our manifold offences, and stay the vengeance due to our crimes ; then to pray for those things which are necessary for the support and comfort of human nature, and a portion of the heavenly grace to support us in our pilgrimage to the *New Jerusalem* : And, thirdly, to give thanks and praises for the many unmerited mercies we have received, and the blessed hopes we have of salvation, through the sufferings and mediation of the Son of God, the author and conductor of everlasting happiness. It gave me extreme pleasure to observe, that all I said sunk into him, and that by his constant attendance at private and public devotion, he was able to join the congregation, and took the greatest delight in being present at all acts of devotion.

He had now read over the Old and New Testaments often and carefully, every now and then applying to me when he met with a difficulty : I observed that the chronology, or joining of times with facts in the Old Testament, often staggered him ; and it was as much as all my reading and observation could do to clear up certain points to him ; therefore, along with my own information, to satisfy and ease my mind, I joined also the helps of many able divines, by putting into his hands the best comments and annotations on the scriptures that I had been able to collect ; and by these he so much perfected, that
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he was, in some time, able himself to clear up some of those parts that appear most dark and difficult. The more he read, I found he grew the more thoughtful and melancholy; this I took notice of for some weeks, but ascribing his serious cast more to thought than grief, I made nothing of it, till perceiving he pined, and shewed a most uncommon uneasiness, I took an opportunity, in our retirement, to inquire into the cause; *Gelashmin*, said I, for that was his heathen name, I have remarked for this good while past, you have been duller and more melancholy than usual; What is it afflicts you? you are no slave, you are as much at your liberty as I am; and but that I know you could not provide for yourself, and that I am unwilling to lose you, you might go from me when you pleased, and whither you would; be assured you shall always find me a father to you, and therefore do not hide from me the cause that disturbs you. Alas! Sir, said he, I could not think of parting with you; my being put into your hands was the happiest part of my life, for here I have tasted of the sweets of liberty, but much more I have been taught the knowledge of a true God, and have heard the glad tidings of salvation often told; I am constantly present at your holy worship, and rejoice in the words of God: but what part have I, poor unregenerated heathen as I am, in all the glorious promises made to the professors of the gospel: I believe, indeed, so do the devils and tremble; but what is belief as I am not admitted into the hold of Christ by the door

of baptism? I am at best, with all my warm intentions, but a thief that climbs over the wall of the sheep-fold of Christ. I have often had it in my mind to beg the new birth by water; I have prayed, as far as I dared, for Fire and the Holy Ghost, but the sense of my own unworthiness has stopped my tongue: Tell me, good Sir, tell me what shall I do to be saved; for even while I speak the hours of my life creep away, and death may seize me like a thief in the night, uncalled and unprepared; and how must the doubting mind of that poor creature be afflicted and wounded, who knows what is prepared for those who have heard of the name of *Jesus*, but have not come at his call, and put themselves under his banner. The tears here gushed from him in abundance, and I found that I was not a little affected; when I had recovered myself, I asked him in what manner he believed in God, and how and by what means he hoped for Salvation; he answered, that his belief was exactly that of the Apostles Creed, which taught a Trinity, three Persons and one God; that he was convinced that the second Person of the Godhead assumed human flesh, and was born of a Virgin, overshadowed by the Holy Ghost; that the incarnation, and all other mysteries he took for granted, being the objects of faith, and not subject to the inquiries of human reason; that he was satisfied that the God-man *Christ* suffered as a sacrifice for the sins of man, according to the agreement between him and the Father; that he died, was buried, and on
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the third day arose from the dead; that he ascended in his flesh as a man into heaven, where he sits on the right hand of the Father; and that at the last day he shall judge both the dead and such as shall remain alive at the finishing of perishable times and seasons; that his judgment shall not be altered, but that the good shall enjoy their portion of happiness reserved for them from the beginning, and the wicked shall be cast into tortures beyond the thought of man; that he believed the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Father and Son, whose divine inspiration gave life and light to all who humbly sought it: That God had fixed a church or congregation of the faithful visibly upon earth, that the righteous shall be sanctified, and commune eternally in joy and happiness; that by repentance the Lord shall forgive men their sins, and receive them into the eternal mansions; that the body shall, at the sound of the trumpet in the last day, rise in a new and glorified state, and that an eternal and never-ending life shall be the portion both of the righteous and evil ones when the period of this world shall cease to be.

I must confess that I did not think he was quite so learned in the christian doctrine, which rejoiced and surprized me at the same time. I then asked him if he believed firmly in all parts of the scripture, and if any parts appeared to him dark and wanting an explanation? He answered, that he had a firm and strong belief in the general text, and was seldom troubled with difficulties, and that such

as he met rather puzzled than staggered him. I desired him to give me an instance of the latest he had met with ; he said, that in reading the Gospel a day or two past, he was surprized at the phrase of, *It is easier for a Camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven.* I could not, said he, frame to myself the smallest relation a camel had to a needle, or a needle to a camel ; the impossibility of so large a creature's passing through so small a hole, does, indeed, sufficiently explain the unhappy state of the rich man ; but as our Lord *Jesus* has spoken always in the plainest terms, I could not help thinking that there must be some mistake or oddity in the text. My child, replied I, that text has been often wondered at ; and indeed it is a melancholy thing, that the negligence of a translator should give offence to any weak or unlearned brother ; but the truth is this, the word, in the *Greek* original, signifies a *camel*, and at the same time a *cable-rope* ; so the text should have been, *for it is easier for a cable-rope to be passed through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven* : According to this translation the parellel, or similitude, had been not only just but also beautiful ; for there are particular eyes of iron about a ship which the cable is drawn through, though it is impossible it should pass through so little an opening as the eye of a needle. At this he confessed much satisfaction, but still the main point was at heart ; for with great earnestness he said, “ Sir, tell me if I am worthy of admittance

mittance into the christian church, or if not, instruct me how to make myself so; I languish till I am your brother in Christ, and dread each night the closing of my eyes, lest I should wake in a dreadful futurity, where there should be nothing but weeping and wailing, and gnashing of teeth." My child, *said I*, go on as you do at present, worship God in humility, love your neighbour as yourself, sincerely. By neighbours, I mean all mankind whom you shall happen to know or deal with; and search the scriptures with a lowly heart; and that God, who has shed his grace so plentifully upon you already, will double the blessing: I will in the mean time pray for your establishment in truth and the love of God, and also consult my pious friends and the clergyman about your admission into the church, which, be assured, shall not be long delayed.

I immediately communicated all that had passed to Mr. *Carter*, not forgetting to inform him of the wonderful progress he had made in christian knowledge, and desired his advice how to act in this case. He said, that he could not see any the least difficulty that could arise to hinder me from admitting him into the christian congregation; but told me, he thought, that as Mr. *Mason* of *Charles Town* was the chief pastor upon the spot, it would be convenient and decent to let him know of his conversion, and offer him the duty of christening him: And I believe, continued he, it will be something of a novelty to him to administer the Sacrament of baptism to a *Pagan Convert*;

Convert; for I do not remember to have heard of even one that has been made here in the memory of man; and truly, to convert our christian infidels here, would be a sufficient task to take up the life of any one minister that ever lived, were his precept and example never so forcible and edifying; but, lest the old Gentleman should take offence, I would advise that you, yourself, take the chariot to-morrow morning, pay him a visit, and inform him of the importance of your message.

As I never forgot the words of my youth, That death may steal upon him, like a thief in the night, before his baptism, so I resolved to delay no time; and that night informing him of my purpose, and advising him to prepare seriously, and with humility, for the joyful time, I went the next morning to town; and having paid my compliments to the old man, I told him the cause of my visit, desiring that I might have his assistance at the ceremony. He answered with much gravity, "Sir, I shall always think myself happy in such acts. But pray do you think, in your conscience, that he is fitted for the receiving the badge of christianity; is he not willing to break thro' his bonds of servitude, by taking upon him the name of Christian?" I assured him I thought he was, and, set aside ceremony, was more a christian than too many that had that happiness in their infancy, to be called to the feast. Besides, says I, Mr. *Mason*, give me leave to clear up to you a point in which the colonies and islanders err. It is the opinion of some of the greatest Lawyers, that

that the conferring baptism, on a man in bondage, in no measure alters his outward circumstances. Indeed, he has with us all the blessed hopes of salvation, and has a right to all the comfortable promises made to man; but still, he is to all intents and purposes, as much a slave as ever; for if that were the case, all our transports, who are under the sentence of temporary slavery, must, of consequence, be free in spite of the King's decree; for it is certain that all of them have been christened, or, at least, it is impossible to prove the contrary; and I could wish that all planters were convinced of this, that so many poor blind souls might be enlightened and brought into the way of life, and the hopes of a blessed eternity; it would, I dare say, have effect upon their morals, and make them better servants than they are. But, however, here the case is widely different; the youth is free; and if any body upon earth has a right to his servitude, it is I only. He was convinced, and asking me when the ceremony was to be performed, I told him, the sabbath-day following, and this was Wednesday. Well, *says he*, I'll be with you on Saturday to examine him, and assist; for I have a young Gentleman who favours me as you did, with his help in the performance of my duty. This done, I took my leave, and repaired as fast as I could to Mr. *Carter*, and told him all. He seemed vastly pleased, and sent to invite a large congregation. Moreover, he had a very handsome suit of his own clothes, which, by gathering flesh, he had out-grown, made fit for

for the young man; and he and I agreed, that we would stand God-fathers, and give him our names, and that Mrs. *Warren* should be God-mother. All preparations being made by us, *Gelashmin* did not forget to prepare on his side, but spent the time in meditation, prayers, tears, and retirement, scarcely eating enough to support nature, till I represented to him that such excess of rigidness bordered very nearly upon sin; by which means he a little augmented his allowance. At last *Saturday* came, and brought along with it Mr. *Mason*, who having dropped to several acquaintance his intent of examining the youth publicly, without naming a day, they took that day for the time; and the house was filled with the best and most learned people of the whole neighbourhood. Mr. *Carter*, though they were not then expected, received them according to his natural benevolence; and after dinner was over, we fell into the subject of our meeting, which being for some time spoken to, Mr. *Mason* desired that the youth might be examined before service publicly in the chapel: But this I objected to: First, I thought it too theatrical, and that it would rather be made a matter of diversion than instruction: And next, I said, I feared the lad would be shocked with the sight of so great a crowd as I expected on the morrow. My reasons seemed to have weight; and it was agreed that he should be then in private examined; and so I went to fetch him. I must confess I trembled for him, and thought to find him in frights and tears at the delivery of
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of my message. But it was quite contrary ; for when I advised him to bear up his spirits and not be terrified, he answered with a resolution unusual, that he feared not, by the assistance of God, to give an account of the faith that was in him. This gave me spirits, and I introduced and seated him. Mr. *Mason* began, and not sticking to the general topicks of religion, he fell upon particulars, and some of those controversial ; but, Good God ! how was I surprized to hear the young man answer as if by inspiration, and with an undauntedness inexpressible. Two full hours he answered questions, and that elegantly ; when at last Mr. *Mason* said, “ My good young man, the Lord has been profusely bountiful to you, and therefore be extremely thankful : And, neighbours, I think the youth is fit to dispute and answer for a doctorate in divinity. Mr. *Carter* embraced him, saying, “ Dear *George*, for so your name shall be to-morrow, the Lord bless and prosper you ; you are surely born for great matters, and expect from me all the favour and acts of friendship in my power.” And then the youth withdrew, blessed and wondered at by the whole company. Before bed-time we settled it, that Mr. *Mason* should perform the office of baptism, though he was very urgent that I should do it, as he was my convert ; but being informed that Mr. *Carter* and I intended to stand sponsors, and bestow our names on him, one as a Christian and the other as surname, he acquiesced, and owned it was an happiness he never had hoped for, to admit an heathen into the church of Christ.

The next day, during the time of divine service, he was not in the chapel as usual, not being yet admitted into the church of God, but in the room adjoining. I performed the duty of the day, for fear of tiring my old reverend friend. But when the time for baptism came, Mr. *Carter*, Mrs. *Warren*, and I, went and brought him into the chapel; his dress and natural beauty, which was heightened by a little confusion, and his very modest behaviour, drew the eyes of the congregation upon him, and procured him their good wishes. And his meekness and devotion, during the ceremony, affected every heart. Mr. *Mason* christened him by the name of *George*, that of his God-father, *Carter*, and declared that he assumed from me the surname of *James*. Which done, the whole company, according to their degrees, were received bountifully at the dwelling-house. Whether he or I was most joyful, it is hard to determine; for I think no two people were ever better pleased, he with what was done, and I with the share I had in it. After many useful and pious instructions given to him by Mr. *Mason*, the whole company parted, well satisfied on all sides.

He now applied himself constantly to prayer and meditation; and being desirous to read the scriptures in their original languages, he intreated me to teach him, which I undertook, and had very little trouble with him; for by earnest application he began every day to master them, and at last grew perfect in them: And in his hours of leisure he gained

a thorough knowledge of the general language, or rather *gibberish* of the *Negro* slaves; for though they are of different nations, and do not understand one another at their first arrival in *America*, they have formed among themselves one universal cant, which is apprehended by all the slaves both of the Islands and Colonies. Mr. *Carter*, who was always studying good, told me it was necessary *George* should be provided for; and therefore, lest his heirs would dispute it after his death, if *George* should survive him, he settled upon him thirty pounds *English* a year, for being Catechist to the *Negroes* and their children, and to all others who should come to him at the stated times. And sure trust was never better executed, for it was the business and delight of his life to go about doing good, instructing the ignorant in the ways of the Lord Christ.

In this situation he continued above three years, doing great service to all the plantations about him; and most of Mr. *Carter's* slaves he had convinced of the truth of the Christian religion, and the necessity they were under of becoming members of that communion; and several of those, whom he thought thoroughly prepared, he brought to me, whom I baptized, and some of them, being elderly, Mr. *Carter* set free. It is not to be imagined of what vast service he was to the children on whom he fixed, and, as it were, graved in them such strong principles, both of morality and Christianity, that they grew up beneficial and exemplary members in the Colonies, and

were the most useful to society of any in the country. Though he was perpetually doing the offices of a good Christian amongst us, yet that did not satisfy him; his great unbounded soul had conceived something of higher import, for the limits of one Colony were too narrow to take in the vast design he had formed to himself of converting the wild and savage multitude to the truth, which by a conversation with him I perceived he had had long at heart.

One day as he and I walked, it being then frosty weather, to a plantation in which Mr. *Carter* had very happily settled his kinsman *Fillup*, he took an opportunity to speak to me on the subject, desiring that I would hear him with patience on a matter which gave him much uneasiness, and which it lay in my power to remedy. I bid him proceed, and thus he did: As it pleased the good God of his great mercy to put me into your hands in a state of ignorance and infidelity, and that by his grace, and your kind and Christian-like assistance, I am brought to a knowledge of the truth: As I have no method of returning any thing to you but my prayers for your happiness here and hereafter, and my praises and thanks to my Redeemer for his tender dispensation to me, I think I am bound by the laws of Christianity to endeavour to make some of my poor fellow-creatures the better for the mercies I have received; therefore, if I might be permitted, I intend to go and plant the gospel, to the best of my power, amongst the poor natives of this place, and strive to do

do that, which is so grateful in the eyes of the Almighty, by bringing as many souls as I can to the truth and love of God. This I have had long on my spirits, but knew not how to break my mind to you; but at last it is become so great a burthen that I can no longer bear it, and for that reason I beg that you would prevail upon my patron to grant me the liberty of taking a journey for some few months among the inward parts of this country, and try how far I can work upon the poor untaught savages; and, perhaps, it may please God to make me, though weak and unworthy, the instrument of spreading his name and laws amongst the nations, who have not, as yet, heard of his might and glory. Finding him quite resolute, and considering the nature of his request, I at last found it reasonable, that upon our return home, I should take an occasion to state the affair to my friend, which I urged with such arguments as occurred to me so very earnestly, that he had no objection to make to it, but the extreme dangers he must encounter amongst so fierce and treacherous a crew, as he was informed the inland natives were; but finding that overweighed by the fixed desire of *George*, he came into it, and desiring him to take such things with him as he thought most convenient for such a journey, he gave him his permission and dismissed him. He made but little preparations, leaving the provisions of life to the providence of heaven; his greatest burden was a few books, and in company with a converted native, who understood
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most of the languages of the country, he departed, after taking a most affectionate leave of us all. How he managed with the *Indians*, what was his success, and the visions that were presented to him are so well expressed in his own journal, that he gave me, upon his return, after near eighteen months absence, that I only transcribe it in the very simplicity of his own words and thoughts.

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JOURNAL OF GEORGE JAMES,

*In his Pilgrimage amongst the Inland Natives,
of the Countries adjoining to South-Carolina.*

IN the beginning of spring, my companion, Robin, and I, after having begged of the Lord his protection and blessing on our purposes, set out for the inland parts of the country; and after three and twenty days travel, in which we encountered many dangers in passing of woods, bogs, and rivers, we arrived in the country of the *Checkbatoe Indians*; the land is fertile, well watered, and produces a great many things necessary for life, and would bring forth any thing if cultivated; when we came upon their borders I sent Robin before me, who soon became acquainted with them, and informing them he had a companion that he left tired behind, several of their chiefs came with him and invited me kindly into their habitations, where they received us with good nature and simplicity, and gave us plenty of such food as they had: In a few days I shewed them the little merchandize I had brought with me, which consisted of beads, bugles, little looking-glasses, knives, scissars, and many other toys of brass and iron; these, though but mean matters, being the finest things they had seen, I was
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talked of at court, and in a few days I was brought to their Prince, who telling me he would deal with me for all I had. I first presenting a woman's silver girdle, told his Majesty that I only trafficked for such provisions as my companion and I wanted, but that all I had was his if he would accept it; but the *honest heathen* declared, he would have no man's goods except he purchased them; and that as to provisions he would order me and my companion a cabin near him, where we should be provided for. To secure his friendship I made him several little presents, at different times, till I began to find myself sure of his protection, and was therefore the better encouraged to proceed on the main intention of my journey. I conversed with him often, and in our conversation, unknown and unfelt by him, fell upon the subject of religion; but he and his people, though kind and civil, had little or no sense of true worship, praying even very little to their own idols. This encouraged me to open my message to them, wherefore one day, when they kept a great feast, I intreated of their Prince that I might speak to the people about the true God; he easily consented, and I began with informing them of the vanity of supposing a multitude of Gods, peculiar to different tribes and nations; I shewed them that so many governing must bring things to confusion, and the world and its inhabitants to destruction; and that therefore there was but one great, powerful, just, merciful, and eternal God, who created all things first for the use of many,
and

and afterwards made man in his own image, and woman out of man; that he fixed them in a place of happiness, laying on them one commandment only, to try their obedience; which they, in the corruptness of their nature, transgressed, and were driven out from the sight of God to this world of wants and miseries; but that still their Maker had so much compassion for them, that on an agreement between God and his only Son, who offered to take human flesh, and die in torture for their sins, he agreed for this sacrifice, and on the repentance of his creatures, to give them eternal happiness after this life, which is but a state of trial. I proceeded to shew that this blessed Redeemer, after some ages, took on him a human body, being born of a pure Virgin; that for some years he went about teaching and preaching the laws of his Father and the conditions of salvation, till being laid hold on, and accused by wicked and cruel men, he was tried wrongfully, and condemned to a shameful and painful death; that he suffered all their cruelties and tortures, and then died the sacrifice for the crimes of those that put him to death; that after three days he arose from death, and appeared to many of those who were his followers, and then ascended bodily into heaven, where he sits on the right-hand of his Father, interceding with him for the frail sons of men, and accepting, and presenting to the Father, the repentance of those who abhor their former sins, and resolve to lead new lives. That he left behind him, as they are conveyed to us

by his holy disciples, laws and rules, which if we obey, we shall, when we depart from this life, be transported into a place of rest and joy, where there is no grief, no want or sickness, but the soul enjoying bliss in everlasting youth and vigour: That he has ordered men to be baptized with water, as a token of their being punished and becoming his servants; and has ordered that they shall break bread in remembrance that his body was broken for them in his sufferings, and drink wine, when blessed, to bring to their minds that his blood was shed for them: That his doctrine was the sure means to make men happy in this world and the next; for he desires that he who would be his follower should love all mankind, as a badge of his love to his Master who had commanded it, to return good for evil, and do to every man as you would have men do to you. Is not this, continued I, a religion to be chosen before the worship of senseless blocks, invisible devils, or crafty and wicked *Pawwaws*, who make gain of your ignorance, and lead you into the snares of the old enemy the devil, the father of lies and falsehoods. Will ye then stick to such ceremonies and idolatries, where perdition must be the end? Or, will you not rather embrace that excellent law which not only provides for you hereafter, but guards your property here? By the laws of the Great God, and his Son Christ, the parent is ordered to be honoured and supported by his children, with a promise of a blessing for so doing, and a terrible curse for doing the contrary;

trary; you are secured from the danger of murder by these commands, which forbid you to shed your brother's blood basely: The chastity of your wives is provided for, all invasions upon such being debarred; your goods are also kept from the hands of the robbers; you are forbidden to hurt your neighbour's good name, and ordered not to covet or desire to possess by fraud any thing that is his. These are the laws of the God that I preach to you, and such laws as could be given by nothing but a God, for their goodness, wisdom, tenderness, and purity; surely then the Author of them is more worthy of adoration than the poor things which are the works and contrivances of priests. Besides, these objects adored by the ignorant and unconverted, are confined to one village, and often to one house; the divine Being that I worship cannot be contained by the heavens, which is but his throne, and the earth his footstool. He is all over the creation, immense, and not to be comprehended by the keenest sense of man. To him then, my brethren, pay that adoration which is due to him only, to whom be glory now and for ever more.

All this I spoke in their own tongue, which *Robin*, upon our journey, had taught me, and it was easy, as it did not consist of great variety of words. The people did not, for the present, seem much moved; but some days after I had many of them with me, asking me questions, and proposing doubts to me, which I endeavoured to clear up to them in the plainest manner. At length by my

constant conversation with their prince *Sagamore*, and often informing him of the promises and encouragements in the gospel, I found him inclined to embrace Christianity, which I furthered by explaining to him all the doctrine, and by hearing me teach the children their catechism, his mind was so thoroughly open, and his notions enlarged, that he wanted nothing but the holy sacrament of baptism to entitle him to the name of a Christian. The greatest part of the nation chose to follow their king, and my days were spent in constant lectures of instructing and catechising, in which *Robin* was serviceable to me ; and I had the pleasure of blessing God for that I lost none of those he gave me.

Now in the midst of my happy progress with the nation of the *Checkbatoes*, I had a heavy and sensible mortification, for some of the heathen priests, or rather jugglers, fearing the destruction of their trade, fled to the King of the *Galangois*, who was ready for any quarrel with his peaceable neighbour *Sagamore*, and complained that he had turned out the gods of their fathers, and took new Christian Gods, begging his protection and vengeance on the wicked prince. He immediately marched all his men of arms into the land of the *Checkbatoes*, but not so secretly but *Sagamore* was prepared for him, and, by the advantage of knowing the ground, gave him an entire defeat : But this unhappy effect it had, that many of the weak looked upon it as the anger of their gods for hearing my doctrine, not considering they were victorious, and so they

they resolved to sacrifice me and Robin to their idols to appease their anger; but Sagamore conveyed us to a cave convenient and warm, and supplied us with provisions, till he had raised an army sufficient to check his grumbling subjects; and then he made a party, which he attended himself for six days journey, to conduct us to the very borders of *Carolina*; promising that he would quickly, when it could be done without danger, come and receive the blessed gift and sacrament of baptism. In my retirement in the cave I had the following vision of things of the greatest concern and moment to men, for whose instruction and edification I write it down, begging them seriously to consider the whole, and not make it a thing to divert, but rather convert them, and shew to them the little there is to be prized in this life, and what great matters are to be expected in the next.

The Vision of George James, formerly Hattain Gelashmin, a new Convert to Christianity.

BEING much grieved in spirit at the cruel persecution that the blind and savage *Galangois* raised against the converted *Checkbatoes*, and at the falling of many of the new converts from the faith, in my retirement in the cave I had recourse to the scriptures, and reading the visit that *Nicodemus* paid to our Lord Christ in the night time, I pitched upon the sentence of the Lord, *That a man must be born again*
before

before he can enter into the kingdom of God, for the subject of my meditation, and while I reflected on the new-birth, and the ignorance of the learned Jew, in supposing, that a man to be born again must enter a new into his mother's womb, sleep overtook me, and lo! I had the following vision.

I found myself on a plain of unlimited bounds and prospect, and a heavy and dark mist hung all over it; but through the gloom I could perceive two buildings, one but a little way from me, and the other at a vast distance, on an high and very difficult to be ascended ground. The nearer pile seemed to be formed with all the art and beauty that man could invent, adorned with gilding, painting, and finely carved statues; its windows, for all the dulness of the weather, shone bright like crystal, and its roof seemed to be plates of gold; around it were many fair fountains, whose waters rose in many shapes high into the air, and woods in the liveliest green, cut into the most convenient and pleasing walks, surrounded it; in short, there was nothing which could be thought of to make a place delightful which the artists had forgotten here. The great distance and height kept the other structure from my close consideration. Struck with the majesty of the palace nearer to me, for no less it seemed, I had a strong desire to approach and view it nearer; but I feared, having no guide, I might be lost in the darkness, which now cleared up, and again immediately thickened heavier. Whilst I was in this uncertainty, a youth of a most comely

comely presence, dressed in white, suddenly stood by my side, and said, *Pilgrim*, know you me? I answered, No, fair youth, and yet I judge I have seen you at some time of my life. You are ungrateful, replied the young man, for I have attended you from your infancy; I warded off every stroke that the enemies of your body ever made at you. It was I that conducted you to *Carolina*: It was I that preserved you from your savage enemies, and am here still ready to assist you in your difficulties, if you shall not be wanting to yourself. I am that spirit called your guardian angel, which accompanied you the day of your birth; if you are willing to see these places, follow me, but remember always to behave like a man. Viewing him strictly, and considering his voice, I thought I heard myself speak with his mouth, and move with his limbs. You cannot, says he, possibly arrive at yonder palace by this road, though it seems near to you, for it is all round encompassed with deep waters, which you cannot see at this distance; your path therefore must be through the wood which is before us; come along, and satisfy your heart with knowledge, and your eye with seeing.

We marched on till we entered the wood, which might be called the wilderness of delight; it seemed not to have the mark of any human hand in its improvement, and yet a sweet confusion of all the greens, flowers, and perfumes that are known to the world, were joined to make it delightful. Full in the middle was erected a beautiful but plain grotto,

grotto, to which the youth led me, and said, Here, repose you a while, but still remember to play the man, for no mortal walks without his temptations, which are sudden and unexpected. I sat down upon one of the benches, which were covered with a downy moss as soft as velvet, and the murmurs of a thousand little invisible rills delighted the ear, whilst the softness of the seats and the sweetness of the air refreshed the senses. I had not sat long when, from the lower end of a walk that faced me, I saw two women making towards the grotto: I was surprized, and was for withdrawing, but the youth bid me stay, it was necessary. The women quickly arrived, and, entering, seated themselves by me, one on each side. The one was dressed in all the lustre of silks, gold, silver, and precious stones; her eyes sparkled as with delight; her face was fair, indeed, but in it there was something daring and forward; her hair, tied into wanton ringlets, played on her shoulders as the wind moved them; her arms were adorned with enamelled and chased bracelets, set all with stones, even to the variety of a rainbow, and her fingers were loaded with rings, where diamonds were the poorest ornaments; her head was encircled with a crown, formed of all the flowers of the summer and spring, and perfumes of the highest quality breathed from every part of her, and yet I thought that there was something in the very gaiety of her face, which seemed to denote that some particular was still wanting to the fulfilling her happiness.

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The other woman was quite the reverse, her look was modest and contented, a sober cheerfulness sat on her brows, and her looks spoke her quite at ease; her dress was plain, but white as the northern snow; her hair was ordered in a matron-like manner; she was not, indeed, so delicate as the other, but seemed fit for toil, yet looked as if she never had toiled. At the same time that her aspect commanded awe and respect, it however gave inexpressible pleasure to the beholder; she did not appear to be coy, but so reserved as to demand distance and regard. They had not long been seated when the first Lady begun thus, applying herself to me: I perceive, youth, that you are about to launch into the world, but without a guide; I therefore offer my assistance to you, and if you list yourself under my banner, all the delights your heart can wish for shall be possessed; I am that Being courted, sought, and wished for called *Pleasure*, but it is not by every one who pursues that I am caught; but to you I offer myself, nay, the entire possession of myself, which none before you ever had unrevealed. Do crowns and sceptres, and the bustle of ruling please you; crowns, sceptres, and rule are yours. Would you enjoy the reward of victories, and shine in triumphs, conquest shall wait your sword, and nations bow to you; can you descend so low as to delight in heaps of gold, jewels, and treasures, the richest shall be ransacked for you; but if you bend to the more solid and substantial joys of the well-served table, the social goblet, and the blooming virgin,

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virgin, there I, in my own person, will serve you ; the four quarters of the world shall send their tributes to your kitchen and cellar, and the fairest flowers of nature I will, myself, bring to your couch ; not unwilling and shy, weeping for shame to come, or that bugbear sin, but ready and fierce for your embraces, and giving rapture for rapture. What should youth do but enjoy life ? Shall the bloom of five and twenty sit dull and frozen as the winter of sixty. Lift your eyes to me, on me only fix your schemes, and only wish and have your wish. See yonder, said she, pointing out of a window, a troop of my votaries, at first like you, frightened with the name of *Pleasure*, and industriously seeking what they called virtuous Labour, but soon the task grew heavy, and they found me the gentler mistress. I looked out and beheld a company of the finest and gayest people I ever saw, singing, dancing, and drinking, and marching at times to the Palace, which now was near us. Consider, said the Lady of Pleasure, youth, of what I have said to you, and now I'll permit that grave household piece to tell you her tale, for I can do no less in manners.

The grave Lady then addressing herself to me, said, My child, I can make no such promises as she that spoke to you, for I do not think any of them worth acceptance ; I would willingly be your guide, and if you will put yourself under my care, you shall be fitted for all that can make you useful to your country and yourself ; I'll keep your conscience quiet, that no furly and tormenting
thought

thought shall afflict it, because I will take care you shall do no vile action; you shall lie down without fear, and rise without apprehension; your cheek shall never be covered with a blush for any misdeed of your own, but all your hours shall be calm and undisturbed; your retirements shall furnish you with wisdom, and your appearances in public shall procure you applause. I will make you the joy and consolation of the oppressed, the widow, and fatherless; you shall command respect where the votaries beg it. I cannot, indeed, introduce you to beauties and revelers, but I will bring you to the wise and virtuous, by whose precepts and example you shall hourly profit, and grow better and wiser. I am the general aim of all mankind, from the king to the beggar, the very end of all their wishes; but whilst they seek me, that Lady, *Pleasure*, puts herself in their way, and, assuming my name, they are soon deceived and enamoured with her, till, alas! alas! they find the fatal mistake when it is too late to retire. Youth, I am called *Happiness*, though I have another name, which, if I am your directress, you shall know in a short time; and now you are at liberty to chuse to whom you will devote yourself; if you would see my servants, seek them in rural cottages, retreats distant from the hurrying town, or lonely groves, or antient seats; I have little to do with the noise, hurry, and vices of the city.

The splendid promises of *Pleasure* had a great effect upon me, but the sober joys that

Happiness spoke of, I found of such superior worth, that before my guardian the youth, or the very minute he had pointed to the grave Gentlewoman, that moment I had determined in her favour; and taking her by the hand, Lady, I give myself entirely up to your promises, I never will hold any commerce with *Pleasure*, or any of her associates. Well, says the grave one, I receive you, and you shall see me sooner than you imagine; in the mean time preserve, and give up yourself to this Guide, pointing to the youth, who to me was visible, though invisible to the other. Then they both left me, *Happiness* looking on me with a sweet composed smile, and *Pleasure* with an insolent haughtiness. *Happiness* paced gently down the grove to her retreat, while the other rushed out rapidly to lead her giddy headlong gang, who with shouts and clamours hastened to the Palace, the seat of their revelry and midnight rejoicings.

Now, says the youth, let us make our way to the residence of irrational joys, while on the way I inform you of your two visitants. The haughty luxurious woman, *Pleasure*, who like the rich glutton in the parable, is cloathed in purple and fine linen, and fares sumptuously every day, for all her gay appearance outwardly, is within but a sink of filth, sickness, and diseases; her complexion is but paint, and all her ornaments like the enjoyments she promises, false and vain; she is the destruction of thousands, and is never better pleased than when she is leading poor creatures to a depth of misery they can never rise from. Though she

she appeared all in grandeur to you, yet she, for the sake of adding to her cursed dominions, can assume several shapes, and courts the meanest, even in rags, to perdition; for she proportions her promises always to the understanding of the person she has to deal with; and can seduce in the beggar's miserable hut, as well as in the pompous halls and lofty chambers of a palace; and in the end she leaves all her adorers in miseries, exactly opposite to the enjoyment which she, at her first addresses to them, promised. One you shall see languishing out a life in pains and anguish, to whom she had promised constant youth and health; another pining in misery and want, who had revell'd at her table, and every hour drank of her enchanted cup. Here you shall observe an undone virgin, forsaken and abandoned by her, cursing the time of their first acquaintance, and swooning with the thoughts of the approaching discovery of her shame and wantonness. There a ruined father dying by inches at the sight of an abused wife and starving family; the whole world is full of her ravages, and yet, strange it is, one wretch is no sooner brought to destruction but a thousand are ready to fill his place. But on the other hand, the grave Lady exceeds her promises, and all her followers insensibly find themselves blessed beyond the force of persecution, and the malice of all evil men. She leads him who has spent the morning of his life in good and laudable actions, for the good of mankind and his country, to the sweet and calm retreat, where she mostly accompanies him,

him, and, in her absence, leaves her favourite, *Contemplation*, to bless him in retirement, and raise his spirits; through her the virtuous mother, who had spent a youth of chastity and virtue, sees, with solid joy, her offspring growing to be her comforts, treading in her steps, and forming themselves to all her actions. In her arms expires the faithful pastor, who never drank or besotted with *Pleasure's* enchanted cup, watched faithfully over his flock, and there, not yet dead, he has a full prospect, as full as human eye can enjoy, of all the joys prepared for those who faithfully performed their duty. But remark, my friend, that neither of those women have told you their real names, they only called themselves as they are termed by the world, *Happiness* and *Pleasure*, but they are really known to the wise by the name of *Virtue* and *Vice*; the last conceals her name through cunning, and the fear of frightening those whom she would tempt; the other, out of modesty, is content to be known by the title which is generally given her by mankind.

We had now approached very close to the Palace, but, alas! how little of its beauty had I at the distant view; the air all around was as sweet as if all the spices of *Arabia* were confined to that one spot; the sky was clear and serene, without a single cloud; the numerous fountains, of a thousand different devices, cast all about the most refreshing coolness; the walks were ended, of which there were hundreds, with some most beautiful prospects of ruins, half-finished buildings, farm-houses, pastures,

pastures, or fine water-falls; the whole put together, whilst it amused and entertained, at the same time distracted the senses, which had every one their particular regale, the eye with prospects, the ear with harmonious sounds coming from the palace, or sent forth by a numberless variety of singing birds, which perched on every branch of the charmingly ranged and formed trees, and the smelling was almost overcome with the multitude of sweets. I was a little too much taken up with this when my guide, turning short upon me, said, Remember my advice, play the man, for still another trial is reserved for you. This checked me, and I determined, to the best of my strength, to withstand all temptations, let their nature be never so powerful.

We now entered the building by several steps of the finest chequered marble of all colours; the inside excelled very far all I had yet seen, the whole lower part of the house was but one most lofty room, set round with alcoves, between which were placed the most expensive China pots, in which grew the most sweet and beautiful flowers, whose perfume filled the place; in several galleries were planted Musicians, and the company, which was almost innumerable, diverted themselves with dancing, singing, and conversing in a light and idle manner, others went into retirements, made for the conveniency of the guests, for all were welcome. On a throne of ivory and precious stones, at the upper end of this great hall, sat the Governess and Mistrefs of this enchanted palace, which was the Lady who

who called herself, to me, *Pleasure*; her eyes rolled about incessantly, to view what new strangers arrived, and as they came in they were brought to her foot-stool by her usher, who was called *Sensuality*; she held in her hand a crystal cup, filled with a bright and sparkling liquor, of which she made them all drink, and of which they had no sooner taken their draught, but they mixed with the crowd in the amusements that pleased them best, or went to tables, covered with all the extravagance of luxury, where they feasted as long as the stomach could receive the various sacrifice of gluttony. At last she observed me, and ordered her servant, *Sensuality*, to bring me to the throne; he readily obeyed, and brought me to the foot-stool, my guide first crying, Play the Man; she offered me her cup, but I refused it: At this she shewed no disgust, but said, Youth, take some time to observe this company, and consider if this dwelling is not to be desired. At that I withdrew, but I was weak, and found I had an inclination to be one of the number of this revel rout. My dear guide, when he had got at a distance from the throne, for he never parted with me, knowing my thoughts as well as myself, spoke to me thus: I am rejoiced that you have overcome these two temptations, but I grieve that you languish after the wickedness, foppery, and follies of this disguised hell. All you see is false; there is neither joy, mirth, consolation, or any other, the smallest good to human nature to be had here; in their dishes and cups poisons are concealed,
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their rejoicing is, at the bottom, but sorrow, and their smiles are but to betray, murder, and damn. The Queen of these revels is the factorefs of hell; she is not only an enemy to the soul, but also to the body, and all worldly comforts. Think you that this profusion is at her expence? No, as soon as any wretch becomes her slave, she seizes upon all his wealth, and that is condemned to the common fund of extravagance and riot. For the joys of this place families weep, children are forlorn, creditors unpaid, and every unrighteous, unneighbourly, and cruel step is taken. But as you have looked upon them with common fleshly eyes, you may be in danger of approving them, then to set all to rights, take this glafs, which is called the *Perceptive of Grace*, and tell me your opinion of this jovial happy company. He then took from his pocket a little machine like a spy-glafs, which, applying to my eye, I was thunder-struck at the alteration. *Pleasure*, which seemed all lovely, was stripped of her robes, and I found her covered all over with filth, ulcers, vermin, and nastiness; her mouth poured forth a torrent of undigested loads of food and liquors, her lips were covered with loathsome foam, her eyes were sunk and hollow, her limbs trembled, and all the dreadful effects of willingly contracted age and disease were upon her; a nauseous stink issued from her pores; she tottered on her throne, and at last fell, grievous to behold, but no object of pity. Now, said the guide, you have seen the principal, look upon her votaries.

votaries. The fight was monstrous and shocking; the first that I fixed on appeared to the naked eyes a most mild and sweet featured person, but the face vanished in the glass, and he wore the head of a goat. That, says the guide, is a wretch that burns in the most filthy lust, he wears that fair and innocent face to be the destruction of families, and the admiration first, and at last the curse of deceived women; look at him with the open free countenance, now you see that he has the head of a bear; that creature meditates for the smallest offence, and sometimes for no offence at all, the most bloody and desperate revenge. He with the magpie's head passes, in the run of the world, for a very good-natured man, but is, in his nature and practice, a maker of tales, a carrier of scandal, and a secret pestilence to all his acquaintance. Apply the glass now to that fair demure Lady, that stands in a thought as it were: What! a ferret's head, she is all lust and irregular passions; she has almost destroyed her husband's estate by her lewdness, though the unthinking world supposes her one of the best of her sex; she is this very moment meditating how she may have her injured husband murdered, that she may be at liberty to squander the remains of his fortune on profligates and whore-mongers. Look at the whole company, and see what beast of prey do you miss amongst them. That tall fine Lady, with the hyena's face, has murdered two poor base begotten infants in the birth, and now swells with the third; that fox-headed Gentleman, who

who bows so low to him who wears that of an ass, is now plotting how to murder him, that he may enjoy his wife and his whole estate, which he persuaded him to settle on his wife; that prating parrot yonder, as gaudy in her dress as the bird is in his feathers. Look at that grave old fellow yonder, one would think he had no business to the temple of *Pleasure*, and yet he is one of her chief worshippers; by the glass he has the head of a watchful covetous dragon; he is contriving how he shall cheat that peacock-headed beau of a very large estate for the tenth part of the price, to throw it away again upon that young creature, who is admiring herself in a glass; view her, you see she has the head of a mare, prompt, vicious, and in high lust, and yet she has art enough to make her old wretch believe that she comes to this temple to oblige him, preferring retirement, books, devotion, and solitude to all public and noisy pleasures; but, hypocritical wretch, her time of punishment is near at hand, for the man in scarlet, with a dog's head, that is very gay amongst the rest of the monsters, and who is her favourite, shall bring her to an hospital and death, in a little time after she has poisoned the old dotard. Oh, man of flesh, continued he, there is neither truth, worth, honesty, friendship, or any laudable matter amongst the large multitude before you; for let whatever ties of blood, alliance, or contracted affinity, interpose between them and vile actions, if *Pleasure*, their prime mover, disapproves of such, as injurious to her sway, they

are all dissolved and set at naught; and murder, theft, fraud, perjury, and all other crimes, most detestable to good men, are immediately embraced, and, without the consequences being considered, their cursed decrees are put in execution, to the overturning of public states and private families, to the subversion of right and property, wrong to them, while in these hellish dominions, wearing the names of Prudence, Fortitude, and Caution.

Now you have viewed this cursed herd, let us look into the instruments of their riot, and see what they contain; let us examine if every cup and dish has not its peculiar curse, and such curses too as many of these unhappy creatures are sensible of, but so weakened are they in their resolution by a constant course of riot, that they have not, or will not, assume the power of forsaking them, though they know the destruction that follows. We now approached the grand table, where all that earth, air, and sea could afford, was served up, disguised in all the art of cookrey; but my surprize was excessive, when, upon looking over the dishes, I saw an adder lurking in every one of them. See, says the guide, that large fish, it is a turbut, which that over-fed man is going to carve; you see the venomous beast appears, that is an apoplexy, which shall immediately sting him to death; his stomach is still full of half-digested dainties, but gluttony, who stood at his elbow, eggs him on; mark the consequence; for some minutes he eat most voraciously, when

when suddenly his head swam, his eyes rolled, his jaws fell, his limbs failed, and, with the fatal dainty, to him, the invisible adder in his mouth, he groaned, and fell dead at the foot of the table. Alas! cried I, how sudden, how miserable is this! Hold, said the guide, it is not sudden, though miserable; he has been taking this poison for years, and has underwent much physic for indigestion, but being a free worshipper of *Pleasure* in his way, he chose against reason, common sense, common feeling and advice, to finish the course as he had began it, in sacrificing to the fatal goddess, *Pleasure*. Observe that sickly set that are seated to a large silver dish, it is filled with all the opposites that are in nature, light and heavy, fish and flesh, sweet and sour, fat and lean, salt and fresh. That stuff, which I think they call an Olio, is fit for no creature who does not, by hard bodily labour, assist the stomach to digest it; and yet these poor weakly wretches, for the variety of tastes, some of which are, bye the bye, taints, chuse to hazard their miserable tottering bodies; what children can be expected from such parents, but such as must be a plague to themselves and mankind; they are constantly under the physicians hands, who must in vain prescribe, whilst they, by intemperance, destroy all the intentions of medicine; but see now the effects, the whole company are sick; see some in fits, others with the overload sink, or have recourse to the odious aid of spirits for their relief. There are two men just come in, you see, one with a lion's the other a wolf's head;

head ; these are gamesters, and very good friends, who prey together ; see how large a gilt bowl of poison is presented to them, with a large old black viper in the bottom ; now they begin to share their gain ; see now they disagree, the temple of *Pleasure* is no sanctuary ; now they are enraged, their swords are drawn, and one is dead, and the other will be hanged ; that is often the end of *Pleasure*. But now closely attend to the barbarity of this cruel being *Pleasure* ; let us look into all the bottles and cups with our glass, and see what they contain besides liquor ; here is a dropsy, in this a fever, the next is a pluresy, the following a palsy, and this large bottle is marked both with the disease and remedy ; here is precious wine, with the gout, rheumatism, and sciatica, joined together for the happy men to whose share this vessel shall fall ; they are all poisons, either to affect the mind or body. This curious fine crystal, fit to offer to a King, what does it contain ? See, the bitterest poison that can fall to human flesh ; that which levels him with the brute, and takes away all the image and resemblance of the Creator, 'tis madness, what adventurous creature dare swallow this ; Ay, fifty are waiting for it this moment ; here is, in this dull heavy-looking liquor, stupidity and brutal drunkenness, the drinker wallows in the mire like the swine, senseless and helpless, neither feet, hands, or tongue being able to perform their offices ; look what a filthy torrent issues from his mouth ; how the wretch stinks, but still worse ; behold, he is stifled in
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his nastiness, and falls into eternity in the commission of a wilful unprofitable sin.

Let us fly, said I, from this cursed place; Is this the abode of *Pleasure*? Who would follow her? *Happiness*, I am thy servant, never to forsake thy cool and wholesome laws; good heaven! what an end has riot; how dreadful are the consequences of appetites indulged; let us depart, I say, and was making out of the hall, when my guide stopped me, saying, you have seen their public places, now we must look into their secret retirements, and observe what they afford. I followed my guide with a sort of unwillingness, and passed through a gate that led to a garden; at the door I took notice, that the porter, who at first view appeared a beautiful young man, through my glass wore the bristly visage of a lewd and savage boar, who, could he be seen by all comers, must fright them from entering.

At a distance from the palace stood the place we were to view, and that, my companion told me, was the house of pain; it was entirely separated from the mansion of revelry, and there was not the least correspondence maintained by the different dwellers: You see, says the youth, how near pain lives to pleasure, as in the grand hall there was nothing but false joy and noisy mirth, so here is nothing but real anguish and languishing grief, and yet all these poor creatures have had their full share of what they called delights, and what they now suffer is the natural and inevitable reverse of what they enjoyed; but come and see. We entered an house where dead
silence

silence reigned, except when interrupted by sighs, groans, and often heart-piercing shrieks; we crossed a gloomy hall, wherein was no living creature, and being, by my guide, rendered invisible, we, at free liberty, looked into and examined all the apartments. The first room which we entered was inhabited by an unhappy young creature, who by her face, though fallow and sickly, did not seem to exceed her nineteenth year; she was laid on a bed, with a bastard child by her, bathed in tears, and cursing the unguarded hour in which she entered the temple of *Pleasure*; her case was deplorable, but yet without remedy, for the past unhappy time was not to be recalled; her poor infant wailed along with her, to whom she answered with tears and complaints. This, one would think, was sufficient misery; but lest she should have the smallest respite from anguish, she was attended by two ill-looking creatures, whose tempers were as bad as their faces; the one was called *Shame* and the other *Remorse*. *Shame* every moment reminded her of her intrigue, bidding her forsake the world, and never more be seen by mankind; at other times she advised her to poison, or a rope, and had both in readiness for her; then would she shake the poor creature's limbs with the violence of an ague, and, anon, put all her blood into a flutter, hurrying it through her whole body with such violence, that her face and neck were ready to burst with the quantity. Immediately when *Shame* had done, *Remorse* approached her; and in a dull, sighing, whispering tone, repeated

peated to her all that the world said of her; represented the anger, and fixed resentment of her relations, the barbarity of the villain that ruined her, and the miserable circumstances that she must, for life, labour under: She sometimes added a tear, and expressed the greatest sorrow for what she must undergo, but never any for what she had done, any otherwise than that it had made *Shame* one of her domestics. Thus between the two the undone creature languished, was forgetful of food and sleep, often wishing for death, and yet afraid to die. I turned to my guide, and said, Alas! is there no remedy for this unhappy object? There is, said he, but time must produce it. See by her bed stands a beautiful young female, she is to her what I am to you; and as soon as she has (which I hope she shortly will) inspired her with repentance, *Shame* and *Remorse* shall leave her, and in their room *Humility* and *Comfort* shall be her attendants; the first will free her from the reproach of the world, and the latter furnish her with consolation, strength of mind, and good and lasting resolutions. The next apartment had for its dweller a miserable young man, suffering all the misery of the disorders got by lewdness; his attendants were *Pain* and *Impatience*, both which assailed him at once, and so wrought upon his body and spirits, that he had little hopes of relief, but by escaping from a poor rotten carcase, in flying to eternity. In another apartment the gout tortured the unhappy wretch, who made choice of the cursed liquor in the palace

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of *Pleasure* ; not far from him was one drowned in a dropſy, and, though too full of liquor, was, as in his ſtate of health, for ever craving more drink. Here one burned and raged with a fever, whilſt near him another was chilled and frozen with an ague. In this room ſat a creature buried in dullneſs and melancholy frenzy, when in the oppoſite cell the furious madman raved, roared, and ſhook his chains.

Tired with theſe melancholy ſights, I begged that we might retire, which my guide complied with ; and paſſing out of the houſe, and afterwards through the frantic palace of *Pleasure*, we at laſt gained the open country, when, being fatigued, I aſked the youth to ſit, which he did, and then he thus ſpoke to me : Is it not ſtrange that though all mankind are acquainted with the nature and conſequences of vicious pleaſure, and have ſeen dreadful examples of its tyranny, not in one place, as you have, but diſperſed all over the world, yet ſtill they languish and pine after the dangers, which their prudence tells them they ſhould ſhun : But this is the effect of letting the fleſh get the better of the ſpirit, which hurries on to all the enjoyments that luſt and appetite call for, never once reflecting what the end muſt be. This is the caſe of thoſe who wear the old man, and live as the fleſh preſcribes, never thinking or hoping for the new-birth, by which come righteouſneſs and peace of mind. Think you that any of thoſe whom you ſaw concerned in the mad gambols of pleaſure, would follow ſuch wicked

ed and destructive ways, if they had been regenerated, and received light and strength from above? No, but in the present state of their fleshly blindness rush to destruction, which too late they must see, when they open their eyes in a never altering state of good or evil, in a life that is to last to all eternity.

The foundation of all their miseries is idleness; for every life, consumed merely in sensual enjoyments, is not only an idle but a sinful life, by which the mind is not only corrupted, but the body is weakened, and rendered unfit for all the offices for which it was intended. Mankind was, from the beginning, designed for labour of some sort; in the sweat of his brow shall he eat his bread, was part of the sentence upon the fall of our first father, and doubtless every one of his posterity are under the same decree: Man should therefore, for the health of his soul as well as his body, engage himself in some employment; they whom nature, constitution, and necessity have fitted for the more robust parts, should apply themselves to the necessary works of tillage and other trades which conduce to the good of the public; others, whom better fortune and weaker nerves have disqualified for the labours of the hands, ought to lay out their time in the improvement of their minds, that so they may not only be beneficial to themselves, but also instructors and guides to their less knowing and unlearned fellow-creatures. The soul of man is naturally active and busy, and if it is not exercised about something good and profitable, it is to be feared that it may

be taken up with evil and detrimental thoughts, which naturally produce bad actions.

The sun was now about to set, which my guide observing, bid me rise, for, says he, the walk to the house, up the hill, where you are to rest to night, is a large one, and you have no time to spare, and many have, by their delays, missed the way ; and when benighted, have made to the lights in the house of *Pleasure*, and there have met their destruction, and been numbered amongst the rioters, whoremongers, adulterers, and murderers. Upon this we pursued our way over the level ground, with a quick pace, and in an hour arrived at the foot of the hill, on which stood the building ; there were many paths to go up, but they all seemed steep, and almost impracticable : Whilst I was considering which way to take, my guide was looking about to find the most convenient road, and at last brought me to one which appeared easier than the rest ; at the entrance to it there was erected an high pillar, at whose bottom was engraved, in large and legible letters, *Whoever would enter here must take up his daily cross and follow me ;* at the reading of this I kneeled down, and cried, Lord strengthen me, thy poor and unworthy creature, and I will take up thy cross and follow thee ; and with this I found myself marvellously enlivened and refreshed, insomuch, that the road and all its former difficulties vanished, and I was enabled to pursue my journey with spirit. As we went along I saw many travellers, who were some asleep, others sitting and complaining of
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of the tediousness of the way, and many who had got up three parts of the hill were returning back, being dispirited with the remainder of the ascent; all these, I apprehended by their talk, intended to call and be lodged at the house of *Pleasure*, from whence I knew full well they must never hope to escape till they had tasted of the bitter cup which succeeded always the frolicks and gaiety of that family. I sometimes felt myself a little faint, but still was cheered by my guide, who told me I should have sweet and comfortable rest, as soon as I had arrived at the house on the top of the hill; for my supper would be plain and wholesome, my bed soft and easy, and no rude noises to interrupt my rest, but all should be easy and quiet, and that my soul should be refreshed as well as my body. Thus encouraged, we continued to ascend, my guide every now and then giving me a lift, and always cheering me, and shewing me the journey was almost at an end, and at last it was, for we got to the top, where we found ourselves on a pleasant plain, large and level, planted with antient oaks and other trees, as well fit for use as shade; the hand of wantonness and expence could not here be discerned, and yet the simplicity of the place had, to me, more delight than all the regularity and art of the walks and grottos near the palace of *Pleasure*. We now arrived at the gate of the house, at which my guide having knocked, it was quickly opened by a grave, but cheerful and healthy young man, whose name, I understood afterwards, was *Temperance*;

ance; my guide, who was well known to him, after having saluted him, said, Good Sir, I have a youth that travels with me, and being almost spent with our journey, I made bold to call and ask if we might be lodged and refreshed here this night. Yes, truly, and welcome, replied *Temperance*, for, by a private Mark, I know he is a friend and acquaintance of our Lady's; but were he never so much a stranger, we never bar the door against any that call here; and, I am sorry to say it, they are not half so many as our whole family could wish. So saying, he led us into the house, and brought us into a hall plain and neat, without any unnecessary ornaments, but containing all that was needful; it was, indeed, adorned with many pieces of paint, which must improve the beholder, and encourage him to pursue the paths of virtue. Here was *Joseph* drawn as he fled from his lewd mistress, the wife of *Potiphar*; the next piece shewed the miseries and imprisonment that he suffered for his chastity, and the third described his rise and promotion to be chief ruler of *Pharaoh's* house. Opposite to it was painted the downfall of the lustful *Jezebel*, and the murder of *Amnon* for the rape of his sister *Tamar*. Here *Josuah* fought the battles of the Lord, whilst the sun stood still, till he was avenged of his enemies; and near it was *Ahab* slain by the *Affyrians*, and the dogs licking his blood, as his chariot was washed near the vineyard of *Naboth*. *Sampson* was painted in the glory of his youth and vigor, while he conquered the *Philistines*, and walked upright
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with the Lord; and in another picture shewn naked, bound and contemptible, after he had told his great secret to the vicious and artful *Dalilah*. While I was viewing these, and many other histories of the scripture, *Temperance* entered the hall with a cup in his hand, covered with a plate, on which was some bread, and said, It was time we should have some refreshment, and presented the bread and wine to us; we eat, and drank of the wine, which was small, but refreshing and delicate, and then he told us we should shortly see his Lady, and then withdrew. My guide then applying to me, said, Don't you find yourself more at ease here than amongst that noisy rout we were to day, where all was hurry, confusion, and disorder; every head heated with wine, and every mouth spewing out vanities, if not blasphemies; where purity never is seen, but foul and loathsome vice for ever triumphs; there you expect no truth in answer to any question, nor honesty in any dealing; there friendship and sacred amity were a joke, and nothing professed but open, free, unbounded and barefaced riot, lawless lust, and horrible passions. On the contrary, here you will find sanctity of manners, plainness and simplicity in all conversations, ready and active friendship in distress, and consolation and comfortable advice in difficulties. Here riot never shewed his flushed and mantling countenance; reeling drunkenness knows not these walls; deceit and double-dealing is banished hence for ever, and every passion that is irregular chastised
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and quelled in its first rise ; here contemplation, with her cool head, blesses the mornings, temperate refreshment are the produce of the noon, and composed healing rest is the gift of the night ; nor does one hour pass in which, by some act of devotion, or benevolent office is not performed for the sake and praise of the great Creator, who gives them the will and ability of doing good, whilst nations war, and are plunged in blood for the ambition or revenge of princes, whilst cities melt in flames, and provinces and kingdoms are laid in irreparable ruin, here is peace and quiet ; ambition and pride are unknown ; slander opens not here its poisonous throat ; lewdness rolls not her lascivious eyes, nor is the voice of clamour and brawling ever a disturbance to the blessed inhabitants ; here are the most refined of human joys, cleared and cleansed from all vile and mean mixtures, joys that are a constant feast, never diminishing, but still fresh and in their bloom. Oh, youth ! rejoice that your happy lot conducted you hither, and look back, if not with contempt, at least with pity, on those who blindly are employed in the pursuit of sensual and more earthly enjoyments.

While yet he spoke, the Lady of the place entered the hall, attended by many, which as yet I knew not. We rose to salute her, which she most gracefully returned ; then taking me by the hand, she said, I am much rejoiced, young man, to find that you have made it your business to come hither ; here shall be your habitation always, if you will, though I
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would not confine you always, but wish that sometimes you entered into the hurry of mankind, that you may the better relish your retreat from noise and worldly troubles. I am well pleased that you saw the palace of *Pleasure*, and all the variety of temptations that abound in that mansion of destructive delights; but I am much more so that you kept to your virtue and integrity in the midst of artful and pernicious deceivers, who laid a trap to enslave your body and destroy your soul. But come, do you and your guide enter the dining-room, and there take such food as is necessary, afterwards rest, & to-morrow I will shew you all the curiosities that are contained in this place. The Lady led us into the room, in which there was a table, furnished with all things necessary for the support of life, but not one article towards luxury or extravagance. *Temperance*, who governed the family, ordered all her meals, and at the table constantly sat *Sobriety*, *Truth*, and *Chastity* on one Side; and on the other, *Temperance*, *Fortitude*, and *Justice*, and the Lady at the head, who was called, in her own house, *Virtue*. As soon as supper was over, a chearing cup of wine was given to each guest, and no more, when immediately *Humility* brought in water, and washed the hands and feet of such as wanted it. The cloth being removed, said the Lady, while you sit a little for digestion sake, let me inform you of the rise of that monster *Pleasure*, or rather *Vice*, for that is her real name. In the beginning of things men were lusty and laborious, the earth afforded them no provision

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without toil, and superiority being unknown, and servitude not begun, every man lived by the work of his own hands. Then all food was simple, and no mixtures of various tastes prevailed ; you see how plain was the diet of father *Abraham*, who when he entertained angels, gave them but a cake baked in the ashes, and the flesh of a calf, with a little butter and milk, and this then was, without doubt, most royal fare, for the Patriarch was no less than a prince : But as the world grew older it grew worse, that is, according to the speech of mankind at this day, wiser, and by various stratagems and cruel arts, they began to claim a power one over the other, unthought of by their fore-fathers ; war and blood began, and families or tribes began to subdue one another, till at last the great hunter, *Nimrod*, conquered kingdoms, and created laws of subordination, giving such degrees of power as he pleased to whom he would. The superior people now finding, by the multitude of their vassals, that they were under no necessity of working themselves, made their slaves till the ground, hunt the beasts, and search the waters for fish ; but their stomachs and nerves being weakened with idleness, they had no longer a relish for plain diet, which they used before, it was not palatable enough to be got down, and therefore their invention was employed to find methods to make it tempting to their debauched appetites ; then wine and oil, spices and sweets found their way into saucers, and the prudent rules of life of the first of men was dropped, by which the succeeding

ceeding generations became more short-lived, and death stole upon them in the shape of several diseases never known before. We find that even in early times these provokers to eating grew so common, that our ancestor, *Jacob*, desired *Rebecca* to dress him some favoury meat, such as his soul delighted in, that he might eat thereof before he died. *Noah's* vine did its share of mischief, and taught men to lengthen out meats, and fall into drunkenness, till, by gentle and unperceivable steps, luxury seized on the greater part of mankind, and life began to grow short and painful. There was no age to be heard of like that of *Methusalem*, for *David*, many hundred years since, complains of the shortness of life : *The days of our years, says he, are three-score and ten, and though men be so hardy as to come to four-score years, yet then is their life but labour and sorrow.* Thus did luxury introduce diseases, for death was hid in every cup and dish. But the failing of the antients was but a trifle to the abomination of these times, for men now live only to eat and study the methods and rules of touching the palate with the most agreeable sense and effects ; hence all other appetites are indulged, the blood is fired and fit for all vices, and pleasure must be procured at all events. But you, my child, make *Temperance* your companion, and you will find your body strengthened, your senses enlivened, your heart innocent, and free from fraud, malice, and lust ; and as you are now in the very house of regeneration, continue to bear your daily cross,

which is by self-denial to mortify and subdue all unruly passions, and look with hope and confidence for the happiness which the righteous shall receive at the consummation of all things. Saying this, she arose and came to me, and hung a jewel about my neck, with a sky-coloured ribband, which rested itself opposite my heart, and I felt it cool and refreshing. This is, said she, the gem called *Reflection*, which touch and apply to your heart, when any temptation assaults you, and it shall immediately vanish, and leave you at ease and quiet. With the touch of this jewel I felt myself much changed, and a heavy load which had long oppressed my heart was gone. I found the love of God to be poured fast upon me, insomuch that I could not forbear to cry out, *O Lord, thy name be blessed, I feel the new-birth, I find myself regenerated ;* at which they all rejoiced much, and paying thanks and praises to the Creator, the Lamb of the New Covenant, and the eternal and divine Spirit; and singing a hymn of laud and glory to the great Maker, we parted, and my guide and I were conducted, without the assistance of candles, to a sweet and commodious bed-chamber, and left to our rest.

My companion and I lay down, and soon were composed to sweet slumbers, which lasted till the day appeared, at which time a beautiful and blooming young virgin, called *Health*, entered our apartment, drew our curtains, and told us that the Lady of the house waited for us in the hall; we soon were dressed, and waited upon her. As soon as the family

family were all met, for we were the two sluggards, the devotion of the morning was performed, and then we were conducted to a table, on which was fresh and dried fruits, bread and wine; to this our hostess kindly invited us, and told us, that thus her guests must expect to be entertained; for that her steward, *Temperance*, would have the ordering of the tables, and which she was not displeased at, for all, says she, that he provides is easy of digestion, and contributes to health and long life, and strength of body and reason; from these no sour fumes will rise, the stomach can quickly dissolve them, and turn them into better nourishment and blood, than will be produced by all the expensive morning repasts of the gay and luxurious. As soon as we had eaten; and drank a small cup of wine, for the stomach's sake, the Lady said, It is time now, while the pleasing cool of the morning lasts, that I perform my promise, and shew the curiosities of this house. Hereupon she led me into a very pleasant but plain garden, and after the passing of two or three green plots, she took me into a little grove, in the middle of which was a small fountain, which played, in a basin of white marble, streams of water as clear as crystal: This, says she, is the first thing worthy of your notice, this is called the fountain of light, and with the Water of this must all be washed, in some part, but their eyes especially, who expect to see this place, or continue in it; therefore, my son, wash your eyes; and then she took up a little of the Water in a small golden vessel

vessel she carried in her pocket, and bathing my eyes, I found them stronger and more lively ; now, says she, you will see things exactly as they are, free from the mists of delusion or imposture, and now follow me.

She led me then to a building, of a strong make, from whence proceeded the mixed noises of singing, crying, shouting, and groaning ; this place will, says she, afford you a sad sight, and then we entered, for the door was not even closed, at which I was surpris'd ; here were in one large room a parcel of human figures, male and female, who wore the heads of dogs and swine ; while I was considering, with surprize, on the sight, they began a confused roaring, accusing each other of being the destruction of one another ; one barked reproofs, while another grunted an answer. This sight, says she, does, no doubt, amaze you, and it were, indeed, amazing if it did not ; all these unhappy people you see here, are such as were formerly near regeneration, and dwelled, for some time, in my house, and eat at my table, of most of whom I had great hopes ; but a friend of the palace of *Pleasure*, called *Servility*, found means to get into my family, by claiming kindred with *Humility*, to whom I thought she bore some resemblance, and so debauched these unhappy people, that they kept a correspondence with that monster, *Vice*, which I quickly discovered, without information, by their behaviour ; all that I had left to do was to advise, for I never force any body, and often they promised and vowed a reformation, but so often fell

fell back, and started aside, that they wear these heads as a badge of their apostacy, for that they have returned like a dog to their vomit, and wallowed in the mire like filthy swine; they have still little remains of fear or grace, for they might go when they pleased, all doors being open for them; but a sense of shame still restrains them, which makes me still hope for their recovery; though they have one very bad symptom which I do not like, that is, that though formerly I was most intimate with them, and directed all their actions, which they ever consulted me on, now they do not know my person, and scarcely can recollect my name. Let others evils warn you, my child, learn wisdom at the cost of the wilfully wretched, and stand fast to the truth without failing.

She now took me, after a small walk, into a delightful little grove, in the midst of which stood a very fair building, the which, as we approached, we heard the voice of harmony, in hymns and divine songs, sung lustily, and with all their might. Upon entering we found a spacious hall, filled with beautiful children, who, without ceasing, sung praises to the holy of holies; at the upper end of the room, on a pannel of white marble, was engraved in letters of gold, *Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God*; they all bowed reverently to the Lady *Virtue*, and kiss'd her hand, and then immediately returned to their holy exercise.

I was delighted, in the highest degree, at this sight, and asking *Virtue* who were these beautiful

beautiful children, she answered, that these were they who were thoroughly regenerated and born again, who had taken up and embraced the Cross of Christ, forsaking all, and following him; who had put off the filthy lusts of the flesh, despised the vanities and wickedness of the world, and now daily waited for their call to the *New Jerusalem*, desiring to pass the great Gulph of Mortality, that they might be eternally joined to their heavenly Father, and share in the bliss which was prepared for the faithful from the beginning. Let this be your example, like them spend the hours of your life in the service of the Creator, and like them finally receive the wages of truth, holiness, and perseverance to the end.

Now you have seen what is come, and see what is to be; what is, can be but of little continuance; it passeth away like a watch in the night, or as a tale that is told, but what is to be must continue to all eternity. She now took me into a very dark and gloomy wood, through which we walked for some time, and at last we came to an opening, which looked towards a hill, surrounded with a high wall at the bottom. This hill, said she, must be ascended by all the sons of men before things end, and then all shall be at a period: Turn your eyes over the large plain, and tell me what you see. I looked and beheld all tongues, names, and nations, as numberless as the sands of the sea, making towards the gate, some running, and others moving very slowly; the most of them diverted them-

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selves on their journey with something that was agreeable to them; and though they all walked towards the gate, yet very few of them saw it, or thought they were going that way: some danced, some sung, others drank and revelled, others swore and blasphemed, others were counting money, and laying out for manors and palaces; some making love, marrying, and being given in marriage, whilst a very few, with grave faces and heavy hearts, meditated on the end of their journey: What was very surprizing, the blind found their way without a guide, and the lame moved towards it without crutches. At last the foremost began to enter the gate, which was ever open night and day; but they had no sooner passed the wicket, but I lost sight of them, and waited in vain to see them go up the hill, or make their appearance somewhere within the inclosure. The Lady perceived I was confounded, and asked me what disturbed me; which when I told her, she said, within the gate is a large and unbounded pit, into which all, the moment of their entrance, fall, and there lie in a deep and profound sleep till they shall be called, which must not be till the judge shall be seated in his glory and power to examine them, and weigh them in the balance. The great plain before you, my child, is the world, and the immense crowd that covers it are the inhabitants thereof, who journey through it, being but as travellers, resting there for a night, and hastening to the end of the journey, which is the gate at the foot of the hill, there they stop; some make their journey long, others short; some arrive

at it in two days, others walk in pain an hundred years ; and though all know that they must make this journey, yet all strive to defer it as long as possible, and are so weak as to imagine, that to make preparations for it, is the way to be hurried on it ; but the preparation makes the trouble of the journey light, and their reception good, could they come to their lodging, or place of rest within-side the door. This Gate is the Gate of death, which all must pass through in their way to futurity ; and the unbounded pit within, is the grave where all shall sleep till awakened by the last trumpet : And yet observe how careless most are as they draw towards it ; one is taken up with merchandize, another pursues a law-suit, that is building and planting, and that numbering his sheep and oxen, when suddenly they are gotten into the gate, before they thought of it, and, alas, alas ! before they are prepared for it. The crowd still hurried to the gate, till the plain began to be a little thinned ; by degrees the number decreased, till but a few remained in the field, and those were such as were ordained not to pass thro' the gate, but to be changed. While I meditated on what I had seen, and was grieved in my spirits for my fellow-creatures, who had made no preparation for this solemn journey, I was surprized with the noise of multitudes, like thunder, who seemed to approach us in all the confusion of the different tongues of the World ; at last I heard a voice which cried aloud, *O Death where is thy Sting, O Grave where is thy Victory*, and turning suddenly, I saw a bright and lovely young man, flying

flying in the air, with a trumpet in his hand, proclaiming, that the power of death was over. Now, said the Lady, prepare to see great things, but fear not, what you shall see are no realities, but emblems of what is to be. So she led Eastward, and bid me look towards the top of the hill, within the inclosure of the Gate of Death : I did, and suddenly the skies were opened, and a light was poured forth of such amazing strength, that, unable to bear it, I fell to the ground, and trembled ; my guide raised and encouraged me, and having again washed my eyes with the water of the fountain of grace, which she kept in the golden vessel, I looked up, but with awe and reverence. The whole heaven seemed to be opened to us ; in the highest part of which was a throne, of such a make and materials, as surpass'd all human imagination ; it was as bright as the sun at noon-day, and had over it a canopy which resembled the firmament set with stars, but ten thousand times more shining ; the steps up to it, which were numberless, were formed of millions of precious stones, whose colours and variety far exceeded the rain-bow ; many colours being there which were never seen upon earth. There sat upon the throne a man in shining garments, of the purest white ; he was far brighter than the throne, and infinitely more beautiful than the sons of men ; his face was sweet and amiable, and yet it was terrible to behold, for none could look upon him without awe, fear, and reverence. There was before him laid an immensely large book, all written throughout, in which was recorded the ac-

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tions of all the world, from the cradle to the grave ; he was attended by millions of millions, all ready to obey his commands, and all rejoicing to be employed ; in his right hand he held a sword, glistening like diamonds, and of unconceivable sharpness, and in his left a golden balance, whose weights lay by the great book before him. And now one of his attendants sounded a trumpet, and cried, with a loud voice, The judge is here, and the time of judgment is come, therefore let all appear before him that is righteous, whose judgments are just, and whose soul abhorreth what is false. And now I looked towards the earth, and the sea, which began to discharge their prisoners, and convey them to the great bar of the just and dreadful tribunal. Many rose with composed countenances, and presented themselves with reverence and holy fear before the throne, fearing for their faults, but hoping much for the mercy of the judge ; some appeared bruised, torn, and wounded, as they had been by unrighteous tyrants and cruel magistrates, for the name of the Most High ; these had their wounds immediately healed, and they were received with joy by the judge's servants, who rejoiced with them for the recompence they should receive for all the injuries and indignities, which had been heaped upon them by the fury of the malicious and unconverted, who took pleasure in shedding the innocent's blood, which was now quickly to rise in judgment against them. On the other hand, millions cried out to the mountains to cover them, and would avoid, if they could, the face of the merciful
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but also just judge. The murderer in vain endeavoured to hide his bloody hand and killing dagger; all the floods that flow into the sea could not wash it clean till it had appeared in evidence against the cruel reprobate. The adulterer and fornicator strove to conceal their filthiness and lewd minds, but they walked naked and undisguised through the crowd, to the dreadful bar. The miser who ground the face of the poor, and drank the tears of the orphan and widow, endeavoured, to no purpose, to keep from sight his false weights and measures; his fraudulent arts, abominable usuries, destroying deeds, and the ruins he had brought upon many families for the sake of the ungodly *Mammon*. The most wicked and abandoned spirits hooted at him, and he was dragged, without compassion, to trial, helpless, and sinking with terrors. The thief and robber had before their eyes the plunder and ravages they had committed; they saw full vials of the tears they had caused to be shed by the helpless and ruined; and marched to the great court under a thorough conviction of their crimes, and the return they deserved. The blasphemers and teachers of false doctrine hung down their heads, and durst not look that being in the face, when they scrupled not, in a former state, to affront and deny his existence, or what was the same thing, revile his attributes, and lessen his power: But now they were convinced, to their confusion, that an eternal, righteous, all-powerful God was not to account with frail, ignorant, and short-sighted man for his works, ways, and dispensations.

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The drunkard appeared bloated and stupified, wishing still for his worldly debauches, and pining still after old wine and strong liquors, and yet grieving that he had forfeited his reason, senses, and, perhaps, salvation, for the gratifying a filthy appetite of drowning his stomach with drinking, and turning himself into the resemblance of a filthy swine. The liar and maker of mischief by scandal and false tales, the faithful slave of his master the devil, sought to skulk in the crowd; but if it were possible to conceal him, he was so universally despised and hated by all, that he could expect no shelter, but was exposed to the sight and contempt of all, with a dejected guilty look, and a face covered over with confusion and blushes, wishing for everlasting darkness; for his practice was not only sinful in the eyes of heaven, but scandalous and contemptible in the opinion of man, and abhorred by all the world.

In this confusion these unhappy wretches stood full of dread, yet still having much more to fear, knowing the fearful sentence was at hand, surrounded by dismay, horror, and deadly grief. Said my Lady to me, Youth, observe the consequence of guilt; all these tremble at the thoughts of what they have done and left undone; the burden is unsupportable, but what must follow, much more so. And now the prisoners were put to the bar, and the awful book opened, at which all nature trembled; the air shot forth lightnings, dreadful thunder shook all the elements, and nature uttered Groans as if the time of her end was at hand. The first prisoner who was
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put upon his trial was one whom racks, swords, and axes had maimed and disfigured; he humbly confessed himself the greatest of sinners, and had nothing to plead, but that he urged, that since he had received the light of holy writ, he always loved the Lord and Maker with all his soul, with all his mind, and with all his strength: The fatal book, and his own conscience, convicted him of many thousand neglects, follies, and weaknesses; but on the opposite page was written, that he manfully laid down his life and shed his blood, testifying of the Lord Christ only, and him crucified; wherefore, by the great mercy of the judge, he had the benefit of the blood of the lamb, sacrificed for the redemption of all the faithful and penitent; he was therefore arrayed in everlasting youth and beauty, a crown of Gold set upon his head, and a glorious and bright garment put upon him, and the judge embraced him, saying, Those who confess me before men, them will I confess before my Father: Well done, thou faithful and brave soldier, whom tortures and death could not affright, now triumph over death and all his power; and he was conducted, by a million of holy spirits, to the throne reserved amongst the glorious company of the Martyrs, there to sing eternal *Hosannah's*, and contemplate with joy on his sufferings upon earth. The next had nothing to answer to the heavy indictment, only, that he always thought his heart was disposed, but the frailties of the flesh often oppressed him, and that he gave way to them; he feared to an improbability of pardon, and could say no more; the book shewed

shewed numberless faults which were vain and unprofitable, and in the commission of which there could be but little joy, the hours of grace misemployed and consumed in vain and unprofitable words; but the just judge consulted the record, to find what could be found in his favour, and there it was written, that he never had shut his ear to the cry of the poor and fatherless, nor clos'd his eye from beholding the naked, nor check'd his hand when it was stretched forth to feed and cloath them; the judge then declared that his sins were forgiven him for the good he had done, and taking him by the hand, he said, *Come thou blessed of my father, enter into the joys prepared for you. I was hungry and you gave me meat, thirsty and you gave me drink, naked and you cloathed me; here receive ten fold for what you have given, for blessed are those that give to the poor, for they lend to the Lord; and he was conducted with joy and triumph to the mansion prepared for him from the beginning.*

Thousands now of the poor in spirit, the mourners, the meek, those that hungered and thirsted after righteousness, the merciful, the pure in heart, the peace-makers, the persecuted for righteousness sake, and of those who were reviled for the sake of the Lord, were put to the bar, and the charge made out against them, that they had wilfully neglected to offer praise and adoration; that sometimes their hearts were faint, and that they despaired of the power and mercy of the Most High, and fell down under worldly cares and terrors; it was all confessed, for, alas! it could not

not be denied; and now the pure spirits, who rejoice in the happiness of all souls, began to shew some dejection, lest these poor beings should be cast into the pit, to weep and wail for ever; but the lamb appeared himself in their favour, and the book being consulted, a scripture was found which calls them all blessed, and therefore intitled, through the precious blood that was shed, to the favour of the court, and several rewards promised and reserved for them; upon this they were ordered to mansions of bliss on the right hand of the judge, and they went away gloriously apparell'd, and attended by choirs of the blessed spirits, who sung to the music of their golden harps, *Glory be to God on High, and on Earth Peace, and good-will to Men.* There was general joy through all the glorious and eternal dominions, that so many were found right in the balance, and added to the inhabitants of the heavenly *Jerusalem.*

Now was come the time of terror, when the self-condemned should be brought to the bar; they were forced to approach weeping and wailing to no purpose, for the time of bemoaning their crimes was over. The first set that were brought to judgment consisted of a mighty band of those, who indeed confessed a God, but paid him no worship, and set him at nought, and revelled in their blasphemous conversations and writings the lamb of the new covenant, even the Lord Jesus; this doctrine they were careful to teach, and now they must answer for it: To the charge they pleaded that they had only spoken and writ-

ten by the dictates of reason, and being incapable of knowing more than reason, told them they could believe no more. To these the judge replied, O ye cursed tribe of *Dydimus*, who must see before you can believe, had you not sufficient proofs by scriptures given to you by the mercy of the father, to know what should be acknowledged true? Who are you, presumptuous wretches, that the secret councils of heaven must be laid open to you? Are you fit to sit on the throne of power and govern unnumbered worlds; are all the secrets of nature laid open to you that you must at least pry into those of heaven? O wretches, double is your damnation, first for yourselves, and next for those you have misled; me you have denied before men, you I now deny before the Father; hence then to the mansion of the curs'd prepared for you from all eternity: And now the frightful fiends began to execute the stern and irrevocable sentence, snatching the shrieking wretches to endless misery.

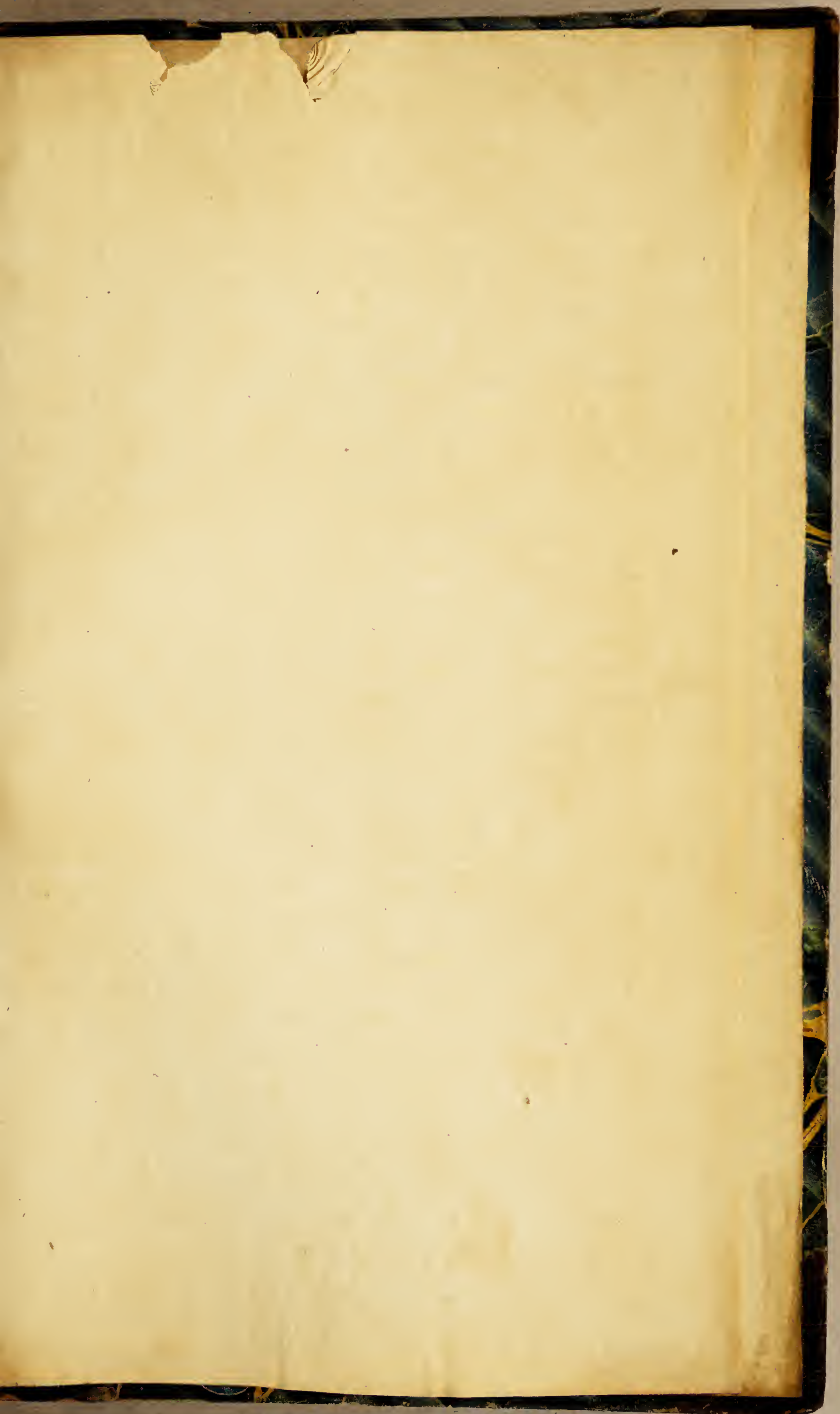
The murderers approached now, red with blood and black with guilt, they pleaded passion and resentment in their favour, but the command, *Thou shalt do no Murder*, standing full against them, they were led to their place of condemnation. The thieves, extortioners, whoremongers, liars, and bearers of false witness, the drunkards, gluttons, and many millions of different sorts of sinners were put upon their trial, where all their crimes were laid before them, and many witnesses, besides their consciences, appeared against them; they could

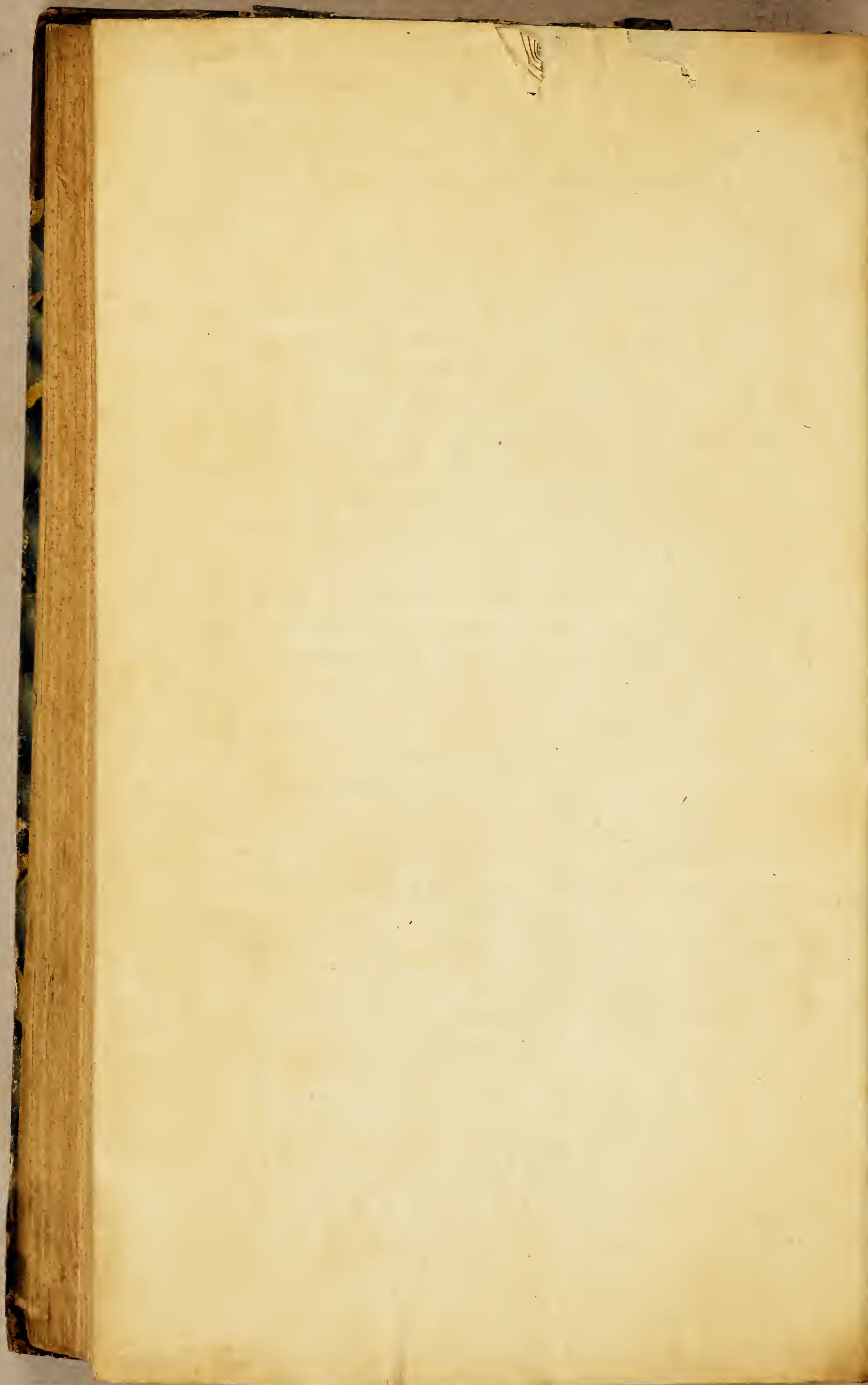
could answer nothing but that their appetites got the mastery of them; and the book being inspected, and all appearing against them, they were obliged to share in the misery with their fellows impenitent and harden'd sinners.

There was a crowd at last put to the bar, who had not sinned more desperately than others, but were never known to do good. These pleaded, that they never injured their fellow-creatures, and that they paid to every one their due; but it was answered, that the probation of man was an active state, wherein he must not only eschew evil but do good, and that they might see their own case in the parable of the talents, where all had improved their portion but one, who laid it up in a napkin, undiminished, but not attended with gain; and that therefore the Lord, after distributing the talent amongst the industrious, *cast this servant into utter darkness, where was weeping and wailing, and gnashing of teeth*; and this was made their sentence, never to taste of bliss but ever to bewail their mispent time. This done the book was shut, and all the scene of majesty and judgment was closed up. Now my guide said, let us see what is the fate of the unhappy, and immediately the place of torture opened to my view; here was every thing to shock human flesh, thick darkness, which could be seen thro' no otherwise then by the frightful gleams of fire, which arose from the bottomless pit: smoke and sulphur rose from rivers of liquid flame, which sunk down thousands of fathoms, on which were miserable condemned spirits, as numerous as the falling

leaves in autumn, hopeless of the end of their torture; for when millions of years shall pass over it will be but as a moment, and all their pangs must continue as long as eternity, unbounded; hence proceed groans, sighs, bitter and fruitless lamentations, the unhappy beings were mocked by the fiends who rejoiced in their torments. My heart sunk within me, and fear and trembling seized me, Is this, said I, alas! the end of the free enjoyment of life, and acting by the laws of nature only; preserve me, O Lord, from the steps to these horrors, and grant me an humble and obscure life. Whilst yet I spoke, I heard the sound of a trumpet behind me, and turning, I beheld the destroying angel, crying, Let all things cease, and let the earth and sea be no more. This he had scarcely uttered when fire seized upon the world, the seas were dried up, the forests destroyed, and the bowels of the globe vomited molten rocks. Now, cried I, the end of all things are, have mercy on me, O Lord, and free me from the wrath to come; and now my fright was so great, that I awaked from these terrors; but as they are the emblems of things to come, we should ever live prepared. Blessed is he whom the Lord shall find doing his work when he cometh. *Amen, Amen.*

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